TĀNTRICISM

A STUDY OF THE YOGINI CULT

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13056

STERLING PUBLISHERS PRIVATE LIMITED
NEW DELHI-110029 BANGALORE-560009 JULLUNDUR-144003

STERLING PUBLISHERS PRIVATE LIMITED
AB/9 Safdarjang Enclave, New Delhi-110029
Sri Maruthi Complex, Gandhi Nagar, Bangalore-560009
695, Model Town, Jullundur-144003

294·5514
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Tāntricism : A Study of Yogini Cult
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Published by S.K. Ghai, Managing Director, Sterling Publishers Pvt Ltd.,
AB/9, Safdarjang Enclave, New Delhi-110029 and Printed at Sterling Printers,
L-11, Green Park Extension, New Delhi-110016.

Dedicated to
The Loving Memory
of My Parents

Foreword

It is high time that a comprehensive study of India's Yogini shrines be undertaken. Viewed in isolation, each of these monuments may seem to be a conundrum. Yet taken together, they form a coherent group, centred in the adjoining regions of Orissa and Madhya Pradesh.

Most of these shrines have in common their circular plan. This forms a legitimate variant among the many alternative types of Hindu architecture. Dr Das is surely correct in pointing out that this is not foreign in origin and that its simple architectural form serves to focus on the images. Once our picture of the nature of the Hindu Temple becomes sufficiently complex, we can accept such variety. This type in some ways resembles simple village and tribal shrines, although the sophisticated style of the sculpture does not.

At the same time, from a comparison of the individual images of the three best-preserved Yogini Temples emerges a sense of considerable diversity. Neither the inscribed images of Bherāghāt nor the tin-labelled ones of Hirāpur and Ranipur Jharial correspond to each other, or to any known Puranic list of Yoginis. Possibly the relevant texts remain to be found. One should never discourage the search for such textual corroboration of images. One may also wonder whether such a Sanskrit text is the place for the explanation of folkloristic cults, varying from area to area. One key to identifying the uninscribed Yoginis of Orissa may lie in recognising groups of goddesses, such as the familiar Saptamātṛkas. The combination of such groups of *grāma devatās* may possibly have political or geographical implications. Such a catalogue of local cults goes back to the Buddhist stūpa of Bhārhut, where divinities (not exclusively female) appear in stone form, some known from literary sources but many of unique and local identity. These last would remain unknown were it not for their inclusion in the compellingly beautiful gallery of labelled images which the Bhārhut railing forms. How much more likely that the complex fabric of Brāhmaṇism and other threads which together are known as Hindu religion should accommodate unique local goddesses, unified only in general structure and function.

The present work makes possible the further comparative study of these temples and of their relation to various systems of thought—Sanskritic, village, and tribal. This is therefore a very useful step in research within an area of art and religion which is quintessentially Indian in its rich complexity.

Dr Joanna Williams
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Preface

Numerous works on Tāntricism and Śaktism dealing with Female Principle have so far been brought to light by the scholars, saint preceptors, historians, archaeologists and philosophers. But no consensus has yet emerged to justify the subject in its entirety. Various manifestations of the Female Principle emerged through the ages alongwith complicated philosophy, plexuses and iconographic features, have placed the scholars and the thinkers in a state of confusion and dismay. Some obscure and hidden cults of the Śākta-tāntric pantheon which had a wide popularity with large following, are now shrouded in mystery for the reason not definitely known to us. The iconography of a few such cults, the sects attached to them, the mode of worship and rituals associated with them remain in oblivion allowing the scholars to put forth various conjectural hypotheses.

The cult of sixty-four yoginis once widely prevalent in the central and eastern parts of India alongwith many other cults of Śākta-tāntricism remains till today obscure and hideous. The works on this cult brought out so far by the European and Indian scholars had, of course, thrown sufficient light on the subject, but no work can virtually be accepted comprehensive and conclusive. Main reasons for this may be the non-availability of inconographic and philosophical texts on the cult, disappearance of the images from several yogini temples, disfigurement of images by the iconoclasts and the extinction of the associated sects. The present work is, therefore, meant for filling up the hiatus in the study of the cult of sixty-four yoginis. This study attempts to give a complete picture, as far as possible, of the cult prevalent in India alongwith hypaethral temples assigned to them, the associated cults having sixty-four manifestations, the identification of several yoginis other than the inscribed yoginis at Bherāghāt, the benevolence, munificence, magnanimity, religious tolerance and devotion of the royal dynasties to the mythical cult etc. A great emphasis has been laid in this volume on the functional role of the cult in the Indian society particularly in the mediaeval period, when this cult, on account of its typical ritualism, appeared to have remained segregated from the mainstream. I have tried, as far as possible, to correlate the cult of sixty-four yoginis with sixty-four Bhairavas, sixty-four Kalās and other associated shrines. I hope this book will be of great use to the professionals and lay readers.

The work is based on my field study of two yogini temples of Orissa and on the published and unpublished texts. While analysing data I have taken into consideration the postulated theories, viewpoints and opinions of the scholars and differed from them at several places with my own explanations and justifications.

It is a pleasant duty to record my sincere thanks and gratitude to the scholars and friends without whose unstinted help and support this volume could not have been made possible. I am extremely grateful to Dr Joanna Williams, Professor, History of Indian Art, University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A. for correcting the draft in manuscript stage and giving her valuable guidance and suggestion and in appreciation willing to write the Foreword and providing most of the photographs given in the book. I express my deep sense of indebtedness and gratitude to Sri B.B. Kar, an Engineer of Public Works Department, Government of Orissa who first gave me an idea of writing a comprehensive book on Śākta-tāntricism.

My sincere thanks are due to the artist Sri S.S. Pattnaik, who took pain in preparing the sketches. I am thankful to Sri K.N. Mohapatra, Retd. Superintendent of Orissa State Archaeology, Bhubaneswar, Dr K.S. Behera, Prof of History, Post-graduate Department of History, Utkal University who have all through encouraged me and provided valuable informations. I must thank Sri Bhubaneswar Samal, M. Sc., Curator, Orissa State Museum for his ungrudging help, Sri Bhagaban Panda, Editor, Directorate of Cultural Affairs, Orissa, Sri Nilamani Mishra, Dr Ramesh Prasad Mohapatra, curators for providing valuable information. My thanks are due to Sri Subhendu Kumar Bose, typist for typing the manuscript with pleasure, to Sri C. Batu, photographer and Sri B.D. Mohanty, Documentation Assistant of the State Museum. Sincere thanks are also due to my wife, Bharati Das and children whose help and inspiration were quite invaluable in early completion of the work.

H.C. Das

Bhubaneswar.

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Abbreviations

A.S.I.R.	Archaeological Survey of India Report.
E.I.	Epigraphia Indica.
I.H.Q.	Indian Historical Quarterly.
J.A.S.B.	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
J.B.B.R.A.	Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society.
O.H.R.J.	Orissa Historical Research Journal.

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Introduction

Since the dawn of reflection, India has been the birth place of very many religions, the important ones being pre-Vedic, Vedic religions, Buddhism, Jainism, Śaivism, Śāktism, Tāntricism and Vaisṇavism, nurtured under the benign patronage of illustrious kings and emperors, and spread within the geographical limits of their realms and in case of Buddhism far beyond its borderland. It witnessed their fluorescences in their comprehensive as well as many-faceted aspects and finally decadence and disappearance of some from the land of its origin. All these religions played their roles individually as well as collectively in shaping the Indian way of life and were greatly responsible in enriching art and architecture, language and literature. Thus the rich cultural heritage of India is greatly indebted to these religions without which the Indian culture would not have been so splendid, wealthy, colourful, diverse, all comprehensive, mythical and mysterious.

In the history of Indian religions, Śākta-Tāntricism occupies a unique place for throwing its portals open to the people of all strata of the society. All trends of thoughts prevalent in other religions are blended in it. The career of this religion is, therefore, remarkable for its manifold contributions to our cultural heritage.

The Cult of Yogini, the subject of discussion in this book, is a very important manifestation of the creative energy (Śakti) who is the omnipresent, omniscient and omnipotent—creator, preserver and destroyer of the universe. The origin of the mythical Yogini cult is shrouded in mystery.

Tantricism

It is believed that tāntricism had its origin in the pre-Vedic period. But the tāntric form of worship gained currency and popularity at a later time. Then on the one hand there existed complicated and elaborate Vedic sacrifices involving a long time for performance segregating a large section of the society from it; on the other hand, there was Upaniṣadic philosophy for acquiring transcendental knowledge beyond the intellect of the common people. The tantras at this critical juncture appeared to lay before the common mass a philosophy both theoretical and practical, easily accessible to all types of people in the society. The exponents of tantras brought into their grasp the essential ingredients of Vedic sacrifices, the monotheistic philosophy of the Upaniṣads, the Bhakti religion of the Purāṇas, the Yogic methods propounded by Pātañjali and the maṅtra aspects of the Atharva Veda. These combined together appealed to all, particularly to those on the lower rungs of the social hierarchy.[1] The tantras, therefore, stand for rituals, for religion, for medicine, magic, maṅtra, yaṅtra etc. The special characteristic features of the tantras are that they are extremely liberal and open to all castes and both sexes without any restrictions. This catholicity of the tāntric religion stood on the one hand against the Vedic practices and metaphysical philosophy of the Upaniṣads and on the other, controlled the general mass by dint of its magical appeal.

Now the question arises regarding the period of origin of the tantras. Farquhar assigns 500-900 A.D. as Śākta period when Śāktism gained preponderance in India. The composition of Purāṇas, Upapurāṇas, sectarian Upaniṣads and various tantras is assignable to this period.[2] Chintaharan Chakrabarti[3] while dealing with the date of the tantras says that the composition of the tantras cannot be assigned to a particular period. The vast mass of tantra literature took a long span of time to develop. The date of each individual tantra must be fixed on the basis of available evidence.

Some scholars push back the origin of the Śākta tāntric religion to the pre-historic and proto-historic period. The primitive peoples of the pre-historic period probably were well aware of sympathetic and imitative magic. By dint of this they could exert influence and control over others and could destroy their enemies. They were well-versed in the use of charms, maṅtras, amulets and intoxicating drugs for producing ecstacy. Dr Frazer, ellucidating the effect of imitative magic says "perhaps the most familiar application of the principle that like produces like is the attempt which has been made by many peoples in many ages to injure or destroy an enemy by injuring and destroying an image of him."[4] Such magic is still in practice among the primitive people. Sex worship practised profusely by the primitive people all over the world appeared in symbolic form. The worship of the Śiva liṅgam in India is a clear example. Another important feature in the religion of the primitive people was the use of wine and other intoxicating drugs for bringing the mind to a state of trance and ecstasy. This was also followed by various bodily exercises, similar to the mudrās, āsanas, and nyāsas of the tantras.[5] Thus the contribution of primitive people to tāntric cult is incalculable.

Tāntricism was not confined to Hindu religion alone but crept into Buddhism also. Guhyasamāja and Manjushri Mūlakalpa, the text on tāntric Buddhism, speak of the tāntric form of meditation, mudrā (gesture and bodily poses), maṇḍalas (mystic diagrams), the maṅtras (mystical spells), kriyās (rites) caryās (duties of the priests in worship), śila (observance of moral precepts), vrata (vows), saucācāra (cleanliness in acts) niyama (religious observances), homa (offering of oblations), japa (muttering of prayers), dhyāna (meditation) and the iconographic features of different gods and goddesses of the tāntric pantheon.[6]

The multiplication of the pantheon in accordance with the principles of the Vajrayāna school of Buddhism and the deification of female principle in various manifestations were further developments. Tāntricism thus became in general more complicated and perplexing with various philosophical expositions.

The excavations at Mohenjodāro and Harappā prove beyond doubt that the indigenous population constituted the founders of the Indus valley civilization. "Śakti worship was of great antiquity in India, it originated out of the mother goddess; and it was closely connected with the cult of Śiva."[7] Thus Śaktism and Śaivism formed the spiritual aspect of the non-Aryans living in Harappā and Mohenjodāro before the advent of Aryans.

"Śaivism and Śaktism, the two schools of tantra metaphysics, were the official religions of the non-Aryans of the Indus valley civilization who practised various aspects of tantra sādhanā according to their intellectual standards. Śiva and Śakti, the dual deities symbolizing the two schools, were their principal divine beings and were worshipped. But in essence Śiva was the goal and god of the non-Aryans."[8]

The people of Indus valley civilization worshipped the Mother Goddess, the proto-type of Śiva, the aniconic symbol of Phallus, the Svastika, therianthropic figures, trees and their spirit and certain animal chimeras of various symbols were common in the ancient world.[9]

These historical evidences suggest that tantra was the predominant cult and spiritual faith of Ancient India. Tantra and Śakti, therefore, are stated to be the contribution of non-Aryan people. The Aryan culture was profoundly modified by the tāntric cult of non-Aryans. Lord Śiva, the deity of the non-Aryans, is regarded as the pivot in the realm of tantra. He systematised the whole phenomenon. It is He who transformed the crude form of black magic into an intuitional science. The Aryans owed a great deal to the non-Aryans in learning the science and sādhanā of tantra and borrowed their male deity Śiva. "The founder of tantra is Lord Śiva. He is known as Ādi Guru. He is a great ascetic (Mahā Yogi) and a great tāntric (Mahā Kaula). He has oneness with the supreme God. He attained occult powers through tantra sādhanā. It is beyond human mind to measure the depth and dimension of his spiritual power and personality. People revered, worshipped and adored him in ancient times. He is conceived to be Guṇātīta and Nirguṇa Puruṣa.[10]

The Śakta tāntric cult with its origin in prehistoric period passed through different stages of evolution showing different manifestations either in conjunction with the male gods or separately. During the early Vedic period, society, being patriarchal, subordinated the female deities. This cultural complex stood in sharp opposition to the female dominated culture of the pre-Vedic and non-Vedic peoples. The constant conflict between these two cultural complexes brought about a synthesis and symbiosis. Towards the later Vedic period, Ambikā, Kāli, Durgā and various other non-Vedic female deities, appeared as the consort of the major male deities, thus gradually paving the way for the full pantheon. In a slow process of evolution Śiva, originally a non-Aryan deity, occupied a pre-eminent position and His consort Umā became a powerful goddess. Various other manifestations of Śakti, such as Durgā, Pārvati, Kāli, Karāli, Bhadra Kāli appeared with various manifestations in the later Vedic period. In the process of assimilation, several female deities were dropped out of the pantheon, while some new ones held prominent position.

Several Śākta Upaniṣads upheld the importance of female principles and mentioned different embodiments of Śakti such as, Durgā, Mahālakṣmi, Mahāsaraswatī, Vaiṣṇavī, identified as Viśvarupiṇi. Tāntric terminology appeared : Vindu, Nāda, Śakti, Mantra, Jantra and a number of plexuses. These Upaniṣads held the view that the whole world is a ramification of Śakti and there is nothing in the universe devoid of Śakti. This indicates the omnipotent, incomprehensible and unknowable character of the goddess.

The purāṇas, the last great authorities in Indian religions through their simple and lucid language, blended with legends, appealed to all types of people. The conception of goddesses took a concrete shape in sculptures with distinct iconographic characteristics. The purāṇas covered a wide range of subjects "viewing them as a whole, the theology they teach is anything but simple, consistent, or uniform. The religion of the purāṇas is practically, polytheistic and yet essentially pantheistic. They deal with endless fanciful mythologies, theologies, cosmogonies, and mythical genealogies. We have a whole body of teaching on nearly every subject of knowledge. The purāṇas pretend to give the history of the whole universe from the most remote ages, and claim to be the inspired revealers of scientific as well as of theological truth. They dogmatize on physical science, geography, the form of the earth, astronomy, chronology and one or two purāṇas, even deal with anatomy, medicine, grammar and the use of military weapons.[11]

Origin of the Yogini Cult

The cult of yogini is a very important manifestation of the creative energy (Śakti), who is the omnipresent, omniscient, omnipotent, creator, preserver and destroyer of the universe. The origin of this cult is mysterious.

Archaeologists, historians, indologists and art historians have made serious attempt to carry on systematic study of this obscure cult and advocated various theories to explain it satisfactorily. But no consensus has emerged to explain as yet this all-pervasive and mythical cult. The main reason for this is the non-availability of authentic texts.

The literature of the Vedic and post Vedic period often mentions the name of yoginis as manifestations of female principle. But yoginis in the shape of a Śākta Tāntric cult came into existence in the 6th-7th century A.D. when the efflorescences of Śaktism, Tāntricism and Śaivism either in individual form or in combination swayed the religious realm of India. Whatever might be the time of origin of this cult, it continued to flourish as an important manifestation of Śākta-tāntricism and the propitiators acquired magical and supernatural faculties through the help of yoginis with a view to the destruction of enemies. Through the process of transformation over the ages the yoginis finally multiplying into sixty-four gained supremacy particularly in the eastern zone of India. Matseyendranāth in view of popularity of the cult gained over the period, systematised and expounded it in his famous work Kaulayānanirṇaya which has become the authoritative text of the cult.

The remains of yogini temples in various parts of India belonging to the period from the eighth to twelfth century A.D. clearly reveal that the exponents and followers of this esoteric cult made vigorous attempt to popularise it in all parts of India. Nine yogini temples discovered so far are distributed in Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and in Coimbatore district of Tamil Nadu. Of these five were discovered before 1875 by the foreign archaeologists—Cunningham, Beglar and Col. Macferson : Bherāghāt and Khajurāho in Madhya Pradesh, Ranipur Jharial in Orissa and Coimbatore in the south. The remains of other five yogini temples are found at Shahdol in Madhya Pradesh (images now preserved in the Dhubela Museum in Chhatrapur district), at Mitauli and Dudahi in Lalitpur district of Uttar Pradesh, at Lokhari in the Banda district of Uttar Pradesh[12] and at Hirapur near Bhubaneswar in Orissa discovered by Sri K.N. Mohapatra. All these temples except that at Khajurāho are hypaethral in appearance and are open to the sky. In this connection we may mention that the temple at Suruda in the district of Kalahandi as mentioned by Cunningham[13] has not yet been located (possibly to be identified with Ranipur Jharial). The archaeologists and historians of Orissa have failed to trace out the temple. The different shape of Khajurāho temple was due to the narrowness of the ridge on which it was erected. Each of these temples has sixty-four niches assigned to sixty-four yoginis. At Bherāghāt, the number of niches is greater indicating the association of the śākta deities other than the yoginis. The existence of sixty-four yoginis in all these temples prove that the number sixty-four was prescribed here as for the sixty-four Bhairavas, sixty-four art and sixty-four ratibandha (modes of sexual enjoyment).

As has been noted earlier, the cult of yogini is mysterious in origin. For the study of origin and evolution of the yoginis we have to depend mostly on the purāṇic accounts, tantras, popular stories and archaeological remains. The purāṇas, Rājataranginị, Vetāla Pañcavimsati abound with stories of yoginis in detail.

The conception of various goddesses took a concrete shape in sculptures with distinct iconographic characteristics. In the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, one of the oldest purāṇas of the highest sanctity, Śakti in the name of Devi is conceived as omnipresent, omniscient and omnipotent creator, preserver and destroyer of the universe; she is borne out of the concentrated and accumulated energy of all the gods to destroy the demon Mahiṣāsura and his powerful associates.

The story relating to the origin of the mātṛkas, who are basically the yoginis, is recorded in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa.[14] It states that the mātṛkas, the counterparts of the main gods helped Ambikā to kill the demon Raktabīja, the ally of demon Śumbha, who had the power and capacity to multiply into demons from the drops of blood oozing out of his wounds and touching the ground. Here the yoginis were entrusted with the drinking of his blood before it dropped on the ground. In this way the demon failed to multiply himself and ultimately was put to death. We find reference of the yoginis in the Mahābhāgavat Purāṇa where Mahādeva while describing the residence of Kāli states that it is a vast city with a wall having four gates in four directions; in the middle is seated the goddess on the lion throne attended by sixty-four maid servants known as yoginis and Bhairavas who were entrusted, and were responsible for the protection of the city.

An interesting story also occurs in the Matsya Purāṇa.[15] The account runs that the gods and goddesses in heaven were terribly oppressed by a mighty demon named Andhaka, who was invulnerable to the gods. One day he attempted to snatch away Pārvati when she was engaged with Śiva and who in wrath waged a fearful battle against the demon. When Śiva discharged his Pāśupata weapon against the demon, innumerable Andhak demons sprang up from the blood that gushed out of the body of the demon. When they were beheaded again numerous demons of formidable appearance were born from the blood. To drink their blood Lord Śiva created the following divine mothers : Māhesvari, Brāhmi, Kaumāri, Mālini, Sauparni, Vayavyā, Śakri, Nairitti, Sauri, Saumyā, Śivā, Dutti, Chāmuṇḍā, Vāruni, Vārāhi. Nārasimhi, Vaisṇavi, Chalachhikā, Satānandā, Bhagānandā, Pichholā, Bhagamālini, Bālā, Atibalā, Raktā, Surabhi, Mukhamandikā, Matrinandā, Sunandā, Vidāli, Sakuni, Raibati, Mahāraktā, Pilapichikā, Jayā, Vijayā, Jayanti, Aparājitā, Kāli, Mahākāli, Dutti, Subhagā, Durbhāgā, Karāli, Nandini, Aditi, Diti, Māri, Mrityu, Karṇamoṭi, Grāmyā, Ulooki, Ghatodari, Kapāli, Vajrahastā, Piśāchi, Rākṣasi, Bhuśuṇḍi, Sankari, Chaṇḍā, Lāngali, Putabhi, Kheṭā, Sulochanā, Dhumrā, Ekavirā, Karālini, Viśāḷadanśtrinī, Śyāmā, Trijaṭti, Kukuri, Vināyaki, Vaitāni, Umattudumbari, Sidhi, Leilihānā, Kaikari, Garadabhi, Bhrukuti, Bahuputri, Prevāyanā, Viḍambini, Kraunchā, Śailamukhi, Vinatā, Śurasā, Danu, Ūṣā, Rambhā, Menakā, Salilā, Chitrarupiṇi, Svāhā, Svadhā, Vaṣtkārā, Dhriti, Jysṭhā, Kapardini, Māyā, Vichitrārupā, Kāmarupā, Saṅgamā, Mukhevilā, Maṅgalā, Mahānāsā, Mahāmukhi, Kumāri, Rochanā, Bhimā, Sadāhāsā, Mahoddhatā, Alaṃvākshī, Kālaparṇi, Kumbhakarṇi, Mahāsuri, Kosini, Śankhini, Lambā, Piṅgalā, Lohitamukhi, Ghamṭāravā, Danstrālā, Rochanā, Kālajanghikā, Gokarṇikā, Ajamukhikā, Mahāgrivā, Mahāmukhi, Ulkāmukhi, Dhumasikhā, Kampini, Parikampini, Mohanā, Kampanā, Khetā, Nirbhayā, Bahusalini, Sarpakarni, Ekāksi, Visoka, Nandini, Jyotsnāmukhi, Rabhasā, Nikumbhā, Raktakampanā, Avikarā, Mahāchitrā, Chandrasenā, Manoramā, Adarsanā, Haratpāpā, Mātaṅgi, Lambamekhalā, Abalā, Vanchanā, Kāli, Promodā, Langalvati, Cittā, Chittajalā, Konā, Santikā, Aghavināsini, Lambastani, Lambastā, Vistā, Lasachurnini, Sakhlānti, Dirghakeśi, Suchirā, Sundari, Subhā, Ayomukhi, Katumukhi, Krodhini, Asani, Kutumbikā, Muktikā, Chandrikā, Balamohini Sāmānyā, Hāsini, Lambā, Kovidāri, Samasavi, Kankukarni, Mahānandā, Mahādevi, Mahodari, Huṃkāri, Rudrasusutā, Rudreśi, Bhutadāmari, Kundajihvā, Chalajjvālā, Śivā and Jwālāmukhi and several others.

These mātṛkas drank the blood of the demons and were exceedingly gratified. When the demon Andhaka was killed, the mothers started their campaign of destruction of the universe, assuming terrific appearance. Śiva having no other alternative prayed to Narasimha. He appeared instantly with his claws besmeared with the gore of Hiraṇyakaśipu, his tongue flapping out like a spark of electricity, with his formidable fangs and long teeth, full of mighty energy and roaring like rumbling clouds, agitated by the fearful wind, that blows at the time of the destruction of the world, thundering like oceans, with his mouth wide open, with his nails hard like thunder-bolts, with his eyes gleaming red like sun, burning with fire of fury, wearing all fine ornaments and garments, spreading his lustre all over the universe, shining like the fire of blaze, yet with his beautiful and illuminating face.

Narasiṁha, to subdue the divine mothers, ready to devour the whole universe with utter disregard of Śiva's orders, created thirty two divine mothers, powerful enough to create and destroy the whole of the universe. Their names are Ghantākarṇi, Trailokayamohini, Sarvasattvasaṁakari, Chakrahṛdayā, Vyomochāriṇi, Śankhini, Lekhani, Kāmasankasini, Sankarṣini, Asvathāmā, Vijabhāva, Aparājitā, Kalyāṇi, Madhudanstri, Kamolatpalohastikā, Ajitā, Sukṣmahṛdayā, Vriddhā, Vessmodanasanā, Nrusinghbhirabā, Vilvā, Garutmahṛdayā, Jayā, Ākarnani, Sabhatā, Uttarmalikā, Padmakarā, Jwālamedhi, Bhisaṇikā, Kāmadhensā and Balikā. These divine mothers subdued those created by Śiva as none could stand the flash or wrath emanating from their eyes. All the mātṛkas now took refuge with Narsiṁha, who advised them to foster and guard the universe as men and animals look after their children. He decreed that they should assist the highest Devi and should obtain oblations made by the devotees.

The proposition in the Matsya Purāṇa regarding the origin of mātṛkas, who are basically the yoginis, certainly deserves attention. Most of the names of mātṛkas found mention in this Purāṇa have been accepted and described in the several other texts as yoginis. The date of composition of Matsya Purāṇa along with Skanda Purāṇa, Garuḍa Purāṇa and Devi Bhāgavata Purāṇa may be placed approximately in the 7th-8th centuries A.D.[16] Therefore, the account of this Mahāpurāṇa composed in the 7th-8th century A.D. prompts us to conclude that the cult of yogini was widely prevalent during this period. But this does not prevent the origin of the yoginis from being yet earlier.

Sakta Tantric Centres

In the medieval period tāntricism was concentrated mainly in four main centres of India. These four centres according to Hevajra Tantra, compiled in the 7th century A.D., were Uddiyāna[17] (located in Orissa), Purnagiri, Kāmarupa and Jālandhar. The Uḍra, according to inscriptions was a viṣaya or district in the Uttar Tosāli, comprising the present regions of Dhenkanal, Talcher,[18] and Balasore district, North Cuttack and Midnapur. In confirmation of this hypothesis, Kālikā Purāṇa[19] states that the first Brāhmaṇical tāntric Pīṭha in India originated and developed in Oḍra deśa, the presiding deity of which was Lord Jagannāth.

> Udrākshaṁ prathamaṁ pīṭhaṁ dvītīya jālasailakaṁ
>
> Trītīya Purāṇa pṭīhantu Kāmarupaṁ caturthakaṁ.
>
> Udrapīṭhaṁ paścimetu tathaivo īsvarī Śiva
>
> Kātyāyanī Jagannātha modāesamcha prapujayet.

According to Kālikā Purāṇa, Oḍra is the first centre where Kātyāyani is the goddess and Jagannātha is god. Jālasaila, is the seat of goddess Chaṇḍi and Mahādeva. Purnasaila is the seat of the goddess Purneśwari and god Mahānāth and

Kāmarūpa is assigned to the deity Kāmeśwari and Kāmeśwar. The Buddhist text Sādhanamālā,[21] following the tradition gives the names of four pīṭhas as 1. Uddiyāna, 2. Purnagiri, 3. Kāmarūpa, 4. Srihatta. Here Jālandhara is replaced by Sri-hatta. But Jālandhara has been recognised as one of the four pīṭhas till the late medieval period. The Muslim account of the 16th century recognised four Devi pīṭhas. 1. Saradu at modern Sardi in Northern Kashmir, 2. Tuljā Bhabāni, near Bijāpur, 3. Kāmākhyā in Kāmarūpa, 4. Jālandhari near Nagarkot in Punjab. Kashmir is substituted for Uddan. D.C. Sircar[22] identifies Bijāpur with Purnagiri noted in other texts. The image of Bhabāni seen at Pratapgarh fort near Hyderabad is stated to have been set up by Chhatrapati Śivāji as his patron deity in imitation of Bhabāni at Tulājapur. The identification of Uddiyāna with Swat valley and Kashmir by the scholars cannot at all be accepted as unquestionable. Uddiyāna, the present Orissa, particularly the region in the coastal belt has the abounding archaeological evidences, historical accounts, and legendary records to prove the upsurge of Śākta-tāntricism since the fourth century A.D. till the late medieval period. Vajrayāna Buddhism originated in Uddiyāna centre and spread to other parts of the country. The Kālikā Purāṇa[23] has rightly stated that the first Brāhmanical tāntric pīṭha in India originated and flourished in Uḍradeśa with Jagannātha as the presiding male deity and Kātyāyani as the female counterpart. Virajā, the earliest Śākta tāntric deity of Orissa may be identified with Kātyāyani stated in Kālikā Purāṇa.

The existence of a large number of Śākta-tāntric and Śaiva temples in Orissa, particularly in the coastal belt substantiate the statement of this Purāṇa. These are concentrated mainly at Bhubaneswar, Puri, Jajpur and the Prachy valley. They include two sixty-four yogini temples, 12 sets of Saptamātṛkas in a group as well as individual shrines of Vārāhi, Chāmuṇḍā, and Indrāṇi.

Rudra Yamalā, a tāntric text of the eleventh century A.D. mentions ten principal pīṭhas of which Uddiān is one. Similarly Kulārnavat antra speaks of Kaliṅga and Uddiān as two out of the 18 pīṭhas. Jānārnava tantra cites Uddiān as one out of the total eight and Kubjikā tantra enumerates Virajā and Uddiān in the list of forty two pīṭhas.[24] And similarly Tantrasāra lists Ekāmra, Jaleswar, Odisa, and Uddiān as four Kṣetras out of the total fifty-one.

That the Śākta tāntric cult had a very long career in Orissa is proved by the existence of numerous Śākta tāntric works in palm-leaf manuscripts. This includes Uddisā Tantra, Kriyoddisā Tantra, Uddāmereswar, Mahātantra, Tantra Chintāmaṇi, Śāradarchana-paddhati by Godabara Mishra, Bhubaneśwari Pujapallava, Durgochhava by Gajapati Purusottam Deva, Durgochhava Chandrikā by Gajapati Rama Chandra Deva, Durgā Yajñadīpika by Jagannāth Āchārya, Tārārchana Tarangini by Rāmachandra Udgātā, Tārinikula Sudhā Tarangini by Rāma Chandra Udgātā, Yānaballi Tantra by Lakshesvara Rath, Śivārchhana Paddhati by Lakshesvara Rath, Vanadurgā pujā by Raghunāth, Shyāmārchanapaddhati by Patajoshi Vāsudeva Rath, Bhubaneśwari Prakāśa by Vāsudeva Rath, Vidyā Paddhati by Krushna Mishra, Ugratārā Paddhati by Damodar Nandi, written by the scholars of Orissa alongwith three hundred palm-leaf manuscripts on tantra written by scholars of other parts of India now preserved in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar. Several important works in Oriya such as Kālikā Purāṇa, Chaṇḍi Purāṇa of Saralā Dās, Bata Avakāsa, Mahābhārata by Sāralā Dasa and manuscripts dealing with magic composed in different periods up to the 18th century clearly establish the continuity and prevalence of Śākta tāntricism in Orissa.

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2

Historical Background

This chapter deals with the history of the royal dynasties that were responsible for the popularisation, spread and promotion of Śākta-tāntric cults, particularly the cult of yogini in their respective kingdoms. It is an established fact that all the great monuments in the world were evidently the works of kings and emperors which were erected for the propagation of the tenets and philosophy of their faith. The lofty temples, churches, mosques, monasteries etc. stand even today as the testimony of their religious faith. These glorious dynasties through the passage of time faded out from the pages of history leaving to posterity multitudes of architectural monuments and inscriptions as evidences of their noble activities which had contributed largely to the march of Indian civilisation and culture. Such dynasties which achieved eminence had illuminated the pages of history by their noble monuments, such as, temples, monasteries and charitable endowments of high artistic grandeur.

Many such dynasties had flourished and faded away, all of which will not fit into the context, but we will discuss here in short the illustrious dynasties, such as, the Chandelas, and Rāṣṭrakūṭas in Central India, Bhaumakāras and Somavāmsis in Orissa who had popularised the obscure cult of yogini and built temples in honour of the associated deities. The temples of sixty-four yoginis referred to in Chapter I were the works of the ruling dynasties of India which deserve attention here.

The history of sixty-four yogini temples in India reveals that they were built during the period from 9th to 13th century A.D. particularly in Eastern and Central India. Our discussion on the subject will be incomplete without referring to the illustrious dynasties which had encouraged and highlighted the importance of the Śaiva, Śākta-tāntric faiths in the length and breadth of the country.

Of the nine yogini shrines so far discovered, the temples at Bherāghāṭ, Khajurāho in Madhya Pradesh; at Hirāpur and Ranipur Jharial in Orissa are in a good state of preservation. The history of the dynasties that constructed these monuments is narrated here.

Chandelas

The temples of sixty-four yoginis, Chitragupta, Kandāriya Mahādeva, Viśvanāth, Nandi, Pārvati, Lakṣamaṇā, Chatrubhuja, Varāha, Brahmā, Yamuna, Javari, Ghunlāi, Pārśvanāth, Śāntināth and the multitude of monuments with their sculptures and decorative carvings in exquisite workmanship and needlework fineness represent the finest tradition of Chandela art. The Chandela art and architecture flowered in these monuments may be regarded as one of the architectural and sculptural wonders of the world.

One of the brilliant clusters in the composite mosaic of variegated colours of Indian civilization, a distinct group forming a major part in the Indian architecture are undoubtedly the noble works of the Chandelas who have been immortalised for these deeds in the annals of Indian history and culture. Of the various divergent segments and elements comingled and combined, the temples of Khajurāho form an important part.

The earliest mention of Khajurāho under the name of Jājhoti we come across in the account of Hiuen Tsang. According to him the capital, two and half miles in circuit, had many monasteries with a few monks. There were twelve temples and about one thousand Brahmins. The country was a centre of learning and was frequented by learned persons from various parts of India. [1]

On the basis of tradition and inscriptions the descent of the Chandela is traced to the Moon. The epigraphic evidence and the traditional account agree in placing the founder of the dynasty in Khajurāho. The discovery of the earliest inscriptions of the Chandelas from this place substantiates the contention. The Chandela Nānnuka (c. 800-836 A.D.) started his political career as a feudatory ruler in a small principality round about Khajurāho.[2] As the founder of the family he loomed as a substantial figure in the family tradition. Vākpati, (c. 836-840 A.D.) the son of Nānnuka was a more powerful ruler, defeated his enemies in battle and made the Vindhyas his pleasure mount.[3] Jayaśakti (c. 840-890 A.D.) and Vijayaśakti (c. 890-907 A.D.) were his two sons who ruled over one after another but could not assume the sovereign power and continued as subordinate chiefs possibly of the Gurjarapratihāras. It was during the reign of Harṣa (c. 910-915 A.D.), the son of Vijayaśakti and his son Yaśovarman (915-950) that the Chandela state became very powerful. Circumstances favoured the growth of a strong kingdom. In the beginning of the 10th century A.D. the continuous struggle between the Gurjaras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas suddenly took a bad turn for the Gurjarapratihāras. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas under Indra III captured Ujjaini and the imperial city of Kanauj was completely devastated. At this critical juncture Harṣa and several other feudatories placed Kṣitipāladeva again on the Pratihāra throne. But his position was not as strong as desired by his supporters. Harṣa thus without openly defying his overlord slowly consolidated his position by matrimonial alliances with the Kalachuris Chahamānas, and thus he founded the future greatness of the Chandela dynasty. We understand from his inscriptions that he had leanings towards Vaiṣṇavism. It was his son Yaśovarman alias Lakṣman Varman who through his policy of aggrandisement and conquest increased the Chandela territory in all directions. The Khajurāho stone inscription of Dhanga (954 A.D.) reveals that Yaśovarman conquered the mountain fort of Kālanjar, the dwelling place of Śiva. [4] According to this inscription Yaśovarman conquered the whole region from the Himalaya to Malwa and from Kashmir to Bengal. [5] He was proud of making Yamunā and Gangā his pleasure lakes by encamping his army on the banks of these rivers. By this time the Chandela achieved virtual independence and emerged as one of the strongest powers in northern India. During the reign of the next ruler Dhanga (950-1008 A.D.), son of Yaśovarman, the Chandela dynasty attained the zenith of its power. According to the Khajurāho inscription dated 954 A.D. he extended his empire from Bhilsa to Tamasa and from Yamunā to Narmadā incorporating the major portion of the original Pratihāra kingdom. The Dudhāi stone inscription states that the grandson of Yaśovarman built the mysterious Markateśwar Temple and many other temples. The sixty-four yogini temple at Dudhāi may be assigned to Dhanga. Vidyādhar (1017-1059 A.D.) was undoubtedly the most powerful ruler of his time and he had the distinction of a supreme ruler. His triumph over the Muslim expedition in 1019 A.D. marked the height of his supremacy. The beginning of the decline of the dynasty occurred during the reign of Vijaya Pāla (1030-1050 A.D.). Sallaka Sanakavarma (1100-1115 A.D.) saved the prestige of his kingdom by defeating the Paramāras and the Chedis. He was "the leader of those versed in the sacred lore, kingman of the virtuous, a store of the arts, an abode of good conduct. and a true son of paradise to all supplicants to support".[7] Madan Varman (1129-1163 A.D.), according to records of the inscriptions, revived the fortunes of the dynasty to a great extent. According to an inscription of this king on the pedestal of a Śāntināth image (1147 A.D.), he recovered the lost territory. This further indicates that the prince exhibited his catholicity by patronising Jainism alongwith Hindu religion. Other inscriptions record that his reign witnessed the restoration of Chandela power. He not only recovered the lost territories but he extended his control up to Yamuna in the north, Betwa in the south-west, Rewa in the east and to the Narmada in the south. Thus the Chandela dynasty became once again a powerful force in the north-west and central India. The reign of Paramārdi-deva (1165-1202 A.D.) witnessed the disintegration of the empire. His conflict with Prithvirāja-III of Delhi and Ajmer and the Muslim invasion of Kālanjar in 1202 A.D. resulting in his defeat and assassination, were the two most important events of his reign. According to three inscriptions dated 1182 A.D. in two temples of Madanpur, 40 km from Dudhāi, Prithvirāja attacked the Chandela kingdom with a large army. The reason for his attack on this kingdom was the assassination of a group of Chauhān soldiers by the Chandelas when they had taken shelter in the garden of Chandela capital. According to Hasan Nizami, a contemporary Muslim historian, Kutab-ud-din attacked Kālanjar fort with his invincible army in 1202 A.D. and dashed to pieces the fort, celebrated throughout the world for being as strong as the world of Alexander. "The temples were converted into mosques and abodes of goodness, and the ejaculations of the bead-counters and the voices of the summoners to prayer ascended to the highest heaven and the very name of idolatry was annihilated."[8] The next important ruler who succeeded Paramārdi was Trailokya Varman (1203-1250 A.D.). With the loss of Kālanjar in 1202 A.D. Ajayagarh became the capital of the Chandelas. Although Kālanjar was recovered in 1205 A.D., the Chandelas did not transfer their capital to Kālanjar. After Trailokya Varman three other rulers succeeded to the throne one after another, the last being Hammira Varman (1288-1310 A.D.). During the reign of the last three rulers the territory of the Chandelas disintegrated and was incorporated by the neighbouring rulers. After Hammira Varman the Chandelas ceased to have any significance in the political history of northern India.

The Chandelas had a vast kingdom extending in the north to Yamuna, in the south to Vindhya, in the west to Betwa, and in the east to Tamasa, the area now popularly known as Bundelkhanda. The kingdom according to tradition had eight impregnable forts such as, Barigarh, Kālanjar, Ajyagarh, Maniyāgarh, Marpha Maudhagarh and Mahiyar of which Kālanjar and Ajyagarh are recorded in the inscriptions as the most important. Although the extent of empire changed from time to time, Khajurāho, Kālanjar and Ajyagarh were the strategic principalities where many epigraphs of the dynasty have been recovered. "Khajurāho, with its glorious architectural monuments, Kālanjar with its impenetrable fortress and Ajyagarh (Jayapur durga), with its palace are regarded as the cultural, military and civil capitals of Chandela dynasty."[9]

The glorious dynasty of Chandelas had the supreme distinction in the history of India for about 500 years. Their contribution to the Indian culture and civilization particularly in the field of art, architecture and religion is immense. In the inscriptions the Chandelas have been described as the staunch devotees of Śiva and Viṣṇu and the majority of them begin with an invocation of either of the two gods. Most of the temples are dedicated to Śiva and Viṣṇu and some to Śakti goddesses and a few to Jaina Tirthankaras. The other deities enshrined in the temples are Pārvati, Lakṣmi, Gaṇeśa, Sarasvati, Sūrya, Indra, Candra, Kṛṣṇa, Rāma Chandra, Brahmā and Hanumān.[10] The installation of so many gods and goddesses and the erection of marvellous temples reveal the religious catholicity, tolerance, magnanimity and deep devotion and the extent of patronising sects other than the principal ones. Alongwith the Brāhmanical temples the Jaina and Buddhist shrines flourished side by side in Khajurāho. Furgusson in observation of the striking similarity in the magnificence of architecture and designs of the temples of the different religions says, "it looks as if all had been built by one prince, and by some arrangements, that neither sect should surpass or be jealous of the other."[11]

One of the greatest contributions of the Chandela monarchs is the sixty-four yogini temple of Khajurāho, which appears to be the earliest of the Chandela architecture. This archaic temple ascribable to a period prior to 900 A.D. probably during the reign of Vijayaśakti offering the early stage of the development of the Khajurāho style, gives an indication that the monarchs in the beginning were the devotees of the Śākta-tantric cult. The Chausaṭhi Yogini temple at Dudhāi, and the Yogini temple at Shahdol belong to this date signifying the distribution of the cult in central India.

Bhaumakaras in Orissa (C. 736-940 A.D.)

The Bhauma period lasting for about two centuries (C. 736-940 A.D.) has been depicted as the golden age in the history of Orissa. Religion, philosophy, art and architecture, language and literature embarked upon a new phase of development under the patronage of the Bhaumakaras.[12] As many as 18 rulers including five queens ruled over the kingdom of Orissa. This epoch was glorious in many respects. It contributed to Orissa for the first time a strong and efficient administration with a number of officials in a hierarchical order; it consolidated the scattered principalities under one sceptre, led to a strong foundation of art and architecture on the edifice of which the later architectural development continued. The origin of Tāntric-Buddhism is the work of this epoch, and lastly, the amalgamation of Śaivism and Śaktism comingling into what is called tāntricism.

The copper plate grants of the dynasty indicate that the Bhauma territory comprised Kaṅgoda of the Sailod-bhabas, Kaliṅga, Uttar Tosāli, Dakṣiṇa Tosāli and Utkal. The State headquarters was at Guhadeva-patāka or Guheśvarapātaka identified with modern Jajpur in Cuttack district. The Bhaumas from an humble beginning could administer a vast kingdom assuming high-sounding titles such as Paramasugata, Paramamāheśvara, Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja etc. The early rulers were Buddhists and patrons of tāntric Buddhism but were tolerant to Brahmanical religion. A short account of the rulers appended below will show their religious catholicity, tolerance and their contributions to the spread of Buddhism, Śaivism and tāntric-Śaktism in Orissa.

Lakṣmikardeva, the founder of the dynasty, was a powerful ruler. Khemaṅkar Deva, the next ruler, is stated in the copper plates [13] to have consolidated the paternal kingdom. His title Paramopāsaka indicates that he was a Buddhist. Sivakar-I (c. 756-786 A.D.), the son and successor of Khemaṅkar Deva, a devout Buddhist in faith (Paramatathāgata), enlarged the kingdom by annexation of Kaliṅga and Kaṅgoda and Rādhā in the north. Subhakar Deva-I (c. 790 A.D.) was the most powerful and illustrious ruler of the dynasty. He was also a staunch Buddhist as is understood from his title of Parama-saugata, but his queen Mādhavi Devi was a follower of Śaivism. She caused the erection of Mādhaveśwar Śiva temple at Jajpur.[14] excavated a tank for the temple and organised a market for the maintenance of the temple which still exists in the same place. Viraja, the presiding Śākta deity of the place also finds mention in the Dhauli inscription of Santikara of the Bhauma Samvat 93. This reveals that Buddhism, Śaivism and Śākta tāntricism prevailed side by side. It was during his reign that Orissan culture spread throughout India and even to a far off country like China. "The kings of Orissa who had great faith in the law and who followed the practice of the Mahāyāna doctrine and whose name was the fortunate monarch who does what is pure, "the lion" sent an autograph manuscript of his philosophical treatise 'Ganda Vyuha' the last chapter of "Avatamsaka" by Sāmantavadra, with a letter as a token of his friendship to the emperor of China. According to S. Levi the Chinese translation of the Oriya name corresponds to Subhakara Deva, a king of the Bhauma dynasty who sent the manuscript which was received by the emperor of China, Te- Tsong (785-850 A.D.) in his eleventh regnal year (i.e.) in 795 A.D."[15]

The autograph manuscript is stated to have been sent through Prajñā, a learned Buddhist monk who was originally an inhabitant of Kabul. After long years of education in Nālandā and in other places he came to the monastery of Orissa to study the philosophy of Yoga. This renowned scholar took the manuscript in person to China and translated it into Chinese language which brought him into the limelight in the religious world of China.

The next ruler Sivakar Deva II (809 A.D.) ruled peacefully over the vast empire consolidated by his father. His titles of Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Parameśwara and Sugatāśraya suggest that he was an ardent Buddhist and championed the cause of Buddhism. Santikar Deva-I, (829 A.D.) son of Subhakar-I, was a great patron of Buddhism. His Dhauli cave inscriptions [16] reveal that a vast monastery known as Arghyakā Varātika was erected during his reign by Bhaṭṭa Loyomaka and Bhimata of Jajpur. [17] The Terundia copper plate inscription[18] of Subhakar-II (836 A.D.) gives him the Buddhist title of Paramasaugata and gives the names of a large number of officials entrusted with the work of administration of the state. According to this copper plate land was donated for the maintenance and expansion of monasteries and Brahmanical temples. This prompts us to conclude that the king was not only a Buddhist but had an inclination towards Brahmanical religion. Subhakar Deva-III (839 A.D.) styled himself as usual as Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Parameśwar etc. and had a great name as a renowned scholar.

For the first time in the history of Orissa, queens, as many as six, ascended the throne. Tribhubana Mahādevi was a follower of Vaiṣṇavism as is indicated by her title of Parameśvari. The grant of a village in Tamalakhanda viṣaya in Daṇḍabhukti Maṇḍala of Uttar Tosāli for worship of Umā Maheśvara in the Nānaeśvara temple built by Śaśilekhā of Virata family suggests the amalgamation of two religions, Śaivism and Śāktism.[19] The queen Gauri Mahādevi was a patron of Śāktism. The Kumaranga plate of Dandi Mahādevi [20] indicates that queen Gauri considered herself as the incarnation of Gauri or Pārvati and built in the honour of the deity the temple of Gauri in Ekāmra Kṣetra. Her daughter Dandi Mahādevi was also an illustrious queen and patron of Śākta-tāntricism. The glorious rule of Bhaumakara ended with Dharma Mahādevi in c. 948 A.D. paving the way for Somavaṁsis or Keśaris.

The illustrious Bhauma rulers are marked for their religious catholicity, toleration, liberality and eclecticism while some of the rulers were devout Buddhists, some were patrons of Vaiṣṇavism, Śākta-tāntricism and Śaivism. The entire Bhauma epoch saw a synthesis and intercourse between various religions and schools of philosophy and of scholasticism and mysticism. The medieval art and architecture fully availed itself of the synthesis of elevated thoughts. Thus the Bhauma rulers inspired with the passionate, romantic and human spirit and exalted by the myth, metaphysics and literature, expressed their noble deeds through erection of Buddhist monasteries, Śākta-tāntric and Śaivite and Vaiṣṇava temples in different parts of Orissa. The Buddhist complexes at Ratnagiri, Lalitagiri and Udayagiri in Cuttack district, the colossal Sapta-Mātṛka images at Jajpur, the Śākta temples of Mohini, Gauri, Vaitāl, Bhubaneśwari, Sāvitri, Uttareśwar and Śiśireśvar at Bhubaneswar, the Buddhist monastery at Baudh, the sixty-four yogini temple at Hirāpur, Vārāhi temple at Chaurāsi, numerous images of Chāmuṇḍā, Bhairava and Mahiṣamardini Durgā, particularly in the Prachi valley of Puri district, are assignable to the illustrious Bhauma epoch. This is corroborated by the accounts of Hiuen-Tsang, who referred to a large number of Deva temples of Orissa alongwith monasteries.

It was during this period that there was a gradual amalgamation of Śaivism, Śāktism and Vajrayāna form of Mahāyāna Buddhism in this region. The temple of Vaitāl at Bhubaneswar, as for example, is a representative specimen containing the Śākta, Śaiva and Buddhist images.[21] With the introduction of tāntricism, Kāpālika form of worship was introduced in certain temples. The name 'Vaitāl' for example is derived from the word Vetāl or spirit with the help of which the Kāpālikas attained Siddhis. That the Kāpālika form of worship was introduced in the temple of Vaitāl is attested by the fact that Chāmuṇḍā, the presiding deity of the temple, is popularly known as Kapālini. A similar type of worship pattern was introduced in the Śākta-tāntric temples of Bhauma period. While speaking of the Kāpālikas and their peculiar practices, Dr. K. C. Panigrahi remarks, "We have seen that obscene sculptures make their appearance for the first time on the temples of this period and it is not impossible that the obscene figures came to be carved on the religious edifices partly due to the tāntrics and partly to the Kāpālikas, both of whom have this strange philosophy about sex. There are some subtle distinctions between the Pāśupatas and the Kāpālikas, though some competent authorities like Rāmānuja place them in one category. But such revolting practices as wearing skulls, drinking, howling, sacrificing human beings, eating food in human skulls and keeping alight sacrificial fire with the brains and lungs of men, in which the Kāpālikas indulge, make them an extreme sect of Śaivism. It is this extreme sect that gained ascendancy during the Bhauma supremacy and have left the indelible marks of their practice and faith on the temples and sculptures of the period." [22]

As regards the date of sixty-four yogini temple at Hirāpur, which is evidently the work of Bhauma period, Sri K. N. Mahapatra[23] assigns it to the 8th or early part of the 9th century A.D. when Brahmanical tāntric religion made headway in Orissa and several tāntric temples came into existence in the region.

The work of Hirāpur yogini temple cannot possibly be placed in the 8th century A.D. for, the workmanship and ornamentation of the sculptures here far excel the achievement of the 8th century. The temples of Vaitāl, Mohini, Uttareśvara and Śiśireśwara at Bhubaneswar which are the works of 8th century A.D. appear from artistic and iconographic points of view to be inferior to the yogini figures at Hirāpur. The suggestion of Sri Mahapatra that the temple belongs to early part of 9th century A.D. is more plausible. Most probably the temple was built by Hirā Mahādevi, queen of Śāntikar-II and the present village of Hirāpur was named after her.

Somavamsis

The Somavamsis originally ruled over Kośala region with their capital at Śripura identified with the Modern Sirpur on the right bank of the river

Mahānadi, about sixty kilometres north-east of Raipur in Madhya Pradesh.[24] The archaeological remains and extant temples of the area help us to re-construct the history of the early Somavaṁsis. Of the various monuments of the early Somavaṁsis, the Lakṣman temple at Sripura built by Mahāśiva-Gupta Bālārjuna is significant from a historical viewpoint. The stone inscription of this temple records in detail the history of the early period. According to this inscription and some copper plates discovered from Śripura as many as twelve kings ruled at Śripura. Some of the rulers assumed the titles of Tri-Kaliṅgādhipati and Kośalendra which indicate that they ruled over Trikaliṅga and certain parts of Kośala (i.e. Sonepur, Patna, Sambalpur, Redhākhole, and several regions of present western Orissa). The monuments we come across in these regions may be safely placed to the early Somavaṁsis period.

Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna, the last but one ruler of the dynasty, was the most powerful and the greatest builder of the time. After him the dynasty became weak and having been hard-pressed by the Kalachuris or the Haihayas shifted its headquarters to Sonepur and Vinitapura, identified with the present Binikā. In course of time a branch of the family proceeded to Jajpur and ruled over the coastal Orissa for about two centuries. Since we are concerned with the sixty-four yogini temple and other tāntric temples at Ranipur Jharial we concentrate our discussion on the earlier Somavaṁsis, who were responsible for their erection. The inscription in the Lakṣman temple at Śripura on the basis of its characters is assignable to 8th/9th century A.D. Almost all the inscriptions of the early Somavaṁsi dynasty discovered from Śripura and western Orissa describe Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna as a great builder of temples, as a patron of art and culture, and as a pious devotee of Śiva.[25]

The temples of Belkhandi in the district of Kalāhandi, the temple complex of Ranipur Jharial in the district of Bolangir may tentatively be construed as the works of early Somavaṁsis. The temples of Ranipur Jharial dedicated to Śiva, Śakti and Viṣṇu are of spectacular importance in view of their sculptures and architecture. Ranipur Jharial alone had as many as two hundred temples, half of which are in existence in good state of preservation. Sri K.N. Mahapatra[26] in consideration of the importance and antiquarian remains of the place, describes it as the Bhubaneswar of the Patna-Sambalpur region. The Lakṣman temple inscription[27] at Śripura enlightens us that it was built by the queen Vasatā, mother of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna in the last part of the 7th century A.D. The Indralāt brick temple at Ranipur Jharial, the earliest in the group being similar architecturally to that of Lakṣman temple, may belong to the same period. Mr. Beglar places the temple to a century anterior to the numerous small plain stone temples noticed on the bare rock. He further states that the temple is a specimen of the Śripura type of brick temple.[28] The largest of all the temples at Ranipur Jharial is the Someśvar temple built by Gagan Śivāchārya, a famous Śaiva ascetic. On the basis of his inscription in the temple it is assigned to the middle of the 9th century A.D. This is further attested by the Bilhāri stone inscription.[29] Cunningham assigns the sixty-four yogini temple at Ranipur Jharial to the 9th century A.D.[30] Hence the cluster of temples at Ranipur Jharial erected in honour of Śiva-Viṣṇu and Śakti flourished during the period from 7th to 10th century A.D., identifying the place as a sacred *tīrtha*. Mr. Beglar's remark in this context is of great significance to us. "The occurrence of so many temples at this spot is sufficiently accounted for by the inscription which records the existence here of a *tīrtha* or place of pilgrimage. I have no doubt a careful perusal and translation of the inscription . . . . would throw much light on the ancient importance of this spot and identify as one of the many ancient *tirthas* mentioned in the Hindu Literature."[31]

Vaiṣṇavism[32] was the chief religion during the rule of early Somavamsis although the rulers were tolerant to Śaivism and tāntricism and built temples in honour of these. But the later Somavamsis who ruled over the coastal region of Orissa became ardent Śaivites and took the cause of spreading Śaivism in the country. The title of Paramamāheśwar indicates that the later Somavaṁsis popularly known as Keśaris were Śaivite. The great temples of Lingarāja, Brahmeśvar, and many others at Bhubaneswar, at Jajpur and other places are stupendous works of the Somavaṁsis. The extant temple of Lingarāja, the pivot in the city of temples (Śaiva Kṣetra or Bhubaneswar), one of the finest specimens of Indian architecture, illustrates the noble activities of the dynasty and the artistic capability of the master craftsman.

KALACHURIS

The Kalachuris, like the other dynasties narrated above, deserve mention here as propagators of Śaivism and Śākta-tāntricism in central India from at least the 6th century down to the 15th century A.D.[33] The history of this dynasty for a long period of eight centuries was the golden age in the history of India witnessing the upsurge of Śaivism and Śākta-tāntricism. Many great temples of central India are attributed to this dynasty. The temple of sixty-four yoginis at Bherāghāt is one of the most prominent monuments erected during the Kalachuri rule.

The Kalachuris formed an important branch of the Haihayas known from legend. According to Epic and Puranic tradition, the Haihayas flourished in the middle Narmada valley with their capital at Mahiṣmati.[34] The early history of the Kalachuris is shrouded in mystery but they claim their origin from the famous Haihaya monarch Sahasrārjuna of Candra dynasty, and their records used an era beginning from 248-49 A.D.[35] However, they rose to power as a powerful dynasty in the 6th century A.D. The records of the dynasty are available from the earliest known king Krișṇarāja (550-575 A.D.). He was succeeded by Sankargaṇa (575-600 A.D.) whose inscriptions style him Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Parameśvara, Mahārājādhirāja, and record the donation of a granary for a Śaivite temple.[36] The attack by Chālukya, during the reign of next ruler Buddharāja was a disastrous event for the Kalachuris. They had to accept the suzerainty of the Chālukyan emperors and continued in the status of vassals till the rise of Vāmarāja in the middle of 7th century A.D. He established his power at Kālanjar fort in the Banda district of Uttar Pradesh. His kingdom extended from the Gomati in the north to the Narmadā in the south covering Sagar, Jabalpur, Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand. Since then, the Kalachuris were known as the lords of the Chedi country and their capital was transferred to Tripuri. The history of the Kalachuris for about a century till the rise of Lakṣman Rāj-I (841 A.D.) is mysterious. Political history during this period is confusing. The Pratihāras and the Pālas were at war for supremacy over northern India. The situation appears to have been unfavourable for the Kalachuris. The next ruler Kokalla-I (850-890 A.D.) appears to be the son of Lakṣman Rāj. No inscription of this king has yet been discovered, but from the records of the later Kalachuris it is understood that he improved his relations with the powerful neighbouring rulers by maintaining matrimonial alliances. The next most important ruler was Yuvarajādeva-I (915-945 A.D.). His three short inscriptions do not record any political event during his rule, but the records of his successors and kings of other dynasties and the works of his court poet Rājaśekhar give us a glimpse of the activities of this monarch. He was powerful enough to overrun Bengal, Karnataka, Gujarat, and Kashmir and married the princess of these kingdoms. Vidasālabhanjikā, a Sanskrit drama of Rājaśekhar, substantiating the inscriptional evidence, mentions that the king married the princesses of Magadha, Malava, Pāñcāla, Avanti, Jālandhar and Kerala. Like his predecessors he enhanced the prestige of the Kalachuris by maintaining matrimonial relationships with the neighbouring dynasties. Amoghavarṣa, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, having been overthrown by Govinda-IV, sought military force from Yuvarāja Deva Kalachuri. The strong Kalachuri forces defeated Govinda-IV and occupied the capital of the Rāṣṭrakūṭā. Yuvarāja Deva was the most powerful monarch of his time in India and assumed the title of Chakravarti and Parameśvara.

Yuvarāja Deva was the greatest builder of his time and patron of religion particularly Śaivism. He built the famous monastery at Gurgi and placed the renowned Śaiva ascetic Prabhāvaśiva of Madhumati in charge of the monastery. The construction of another famous Maṭha known as Goloki Maṭha is also attributed to him. This maṭha was put under the charge of a Śaiva Āchārya named Sadabhāvasambhu. He was so magnanimous that he donated as many as three lakhs of villages for its maintenance. His queen Mohala being a devout Śaivite, built the temple of Nohaleśvar, engaged the Śaiva ascetic Iśvara Śiva and donated several villages for its upkeep. Most probably the original temple of sixty-four yoginis at Bherāghāt was built during his reign. In his royal court there were two capable ministers Bhaka Mishra, a Brahmin, and a Kāyastha Gollaka and the well known poet Rājaśekhar whose play Vidasālabhanjikā was staged at the Kalachuri court in which the king himself played the role of the hero. Thus the rule of Yuvarāja Deva was remarkable in the history of the Kalachuris.

His son Lakṣman Rāj-II (945-970 A.D.) followed the footsteps of his father in the matters of administration and religion. His devotion to Śaivism is proved by his activities in the building of the holy monastery of Vaidyanāth at Bilahari. Like his parents, he invited the Śaiva Āchārya to be in charge of the monastery. The rulers after Lakṣman Rāj, who ruled the Kalachuri country till the rise of Gāṅgeya Deva, appeared to be very weak and could not contribute much except the maintenance of temples, monasteries etc., built by their predecessors. Gāṅgeya Deva extended his country in all directions and enhanced the prestige of the Kalachuri of Tripuri. The copper plate grant of his grandson Yasahkarna indicates that he assumed the title of Vikramāditya, was a devout Śaiva, introduced the peculiar Meru type of temple of Vārāṇasi and introduced Lakṣhmi type of coinage[37] in gold, silver and copper which became very popular in north India.

The next most important ruler of this dynasty was Karna, whose reign was full of events. According to his Rewa stone inscription,[38] Karna during the first seven years of his reign conquered Bengal, Chola, Pallava and Kuntal countries. He made a vehement attack on the Paramar king of Mālvā and annexed his country. His next campaign was against the Chandelas who were defeated and forced to cede the major portion of their country. He then overthrew Bengal. Karna thus was the most powerful monarch and was at the height of his power in 1062 A.D. by virtue of the subjection of all the important monarchs of northern and central India. He assumed the highest titles of Chakravartin Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Parameśvara, Mahārājādhirāja. On account of his great achievements, he is designated as the 'Indian Napoleon,' and like that counterpart this powerful monarch was subject to decay and his vast empire to disintegration. The neighbouring rulerss raised their heads and carved out their territories at favourable opportunities enfeebling the position of Karna.

Whatever might be his reverses and the reasons for his downfall, he was one of the greatest builders and liberal patron of religion, learning and culture. He made Vārāṇasi his capital where he built a twelve-storied temple known as Karṇa meru. The Karna tirtha at Prayāga, the establishment of Brahmin settlements near Tripuri are his important contributions to the history and culture of India. The celebrated poets of his court were Bilhaṇa, the well-known Sanskrit poet of Kashmir, Vallana, Nachirāja, Karpūra and Vidyāpati whose contribution to Sanskrit literature is immeasurable.

The beginning of the downfall of the Kalachuri dynasty was obvious. One after another several rulers ascended the Kalachuri throne but in the face of powerful neighbouring rulers they failed to revitalize the prestige of the dynasty. However, the Kalachuris continued to rule till the end of 12th century A.D.

The rule of the Kalachuris is in many respects glorious. The illustrious rulers were not only powerful but were also celebrated in the development of religion, learning and culture. The cultural history of India would not be the same without the Kalachuris.

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3

Yogini Temples

In this chapter attention is focussed on the architectural peculiarities of the yogini temples which from a structural point of view appear to be a special class in Indian architecture. So far no Ślipaśāstra pertaining to the architecture of the hypaethral temples has been found. In the absence of sufficient textual evidence, scholars have not thrown substantial light on the architecture of circular yogini temples. Hence my attempt in discussing yogini temples, stylistically and architecturally, will be tentative rather than conclusive.

Architecture is no doubt one of the most important branches of learning which can reveal with great exactitude the progress or decadence of human civilisation. When we study the evolutionary phases of architecture from the most primitive type of human habitation to magnificent temples and palaces we find the continuous attempt of human beings to express their social and religious environments and aesthetic sense. Indian architecture furnishes the most brilliant example of all the architectural types in the whole world. Its conception, its evolution with regional variations, its structural embelishments, its multilinear developments in pursuance of complicated procedures of Śilpaśāstra, all combine to put the scholars in a state of wonder and amazement.

The temple as the abode of gods in the Brahmanical sense of image worship appeared first before the days of Sri Khāravela who speaks of "Gopurāṇi and Śikharāṇi" in his famous Hāthigumpha inscription. But no temples of this age have yet come to light. But it was duing the Gupta period.[1] we have the nucleus of the Hindu temple for the first time. The temple in primitive form consisted of a cubical cell (*garbhagṛiha*) with the entrance and the porch (*maṇḍapa*). The special characteristics of the temples of the earliest group are the flat roofs with carved entrance to the garbhagṛiha, some of them being exquisitely ornamented with relief and scroll works. Indian temples with such a humble beginning assumed three distinctive styles by the 7th/-8th century A.D. In the Indian Śilpaśāstra we come across three main styles of temple architecture—the Nāgara, the Drāvida and the Vesara. The *Nāgara* style of temples was prevalent in northern India. The *Vesara* in the Deccan region, and the *Drāvida* in South India. The cruciform ground plan and the curvilinear tower (śikhara) are the main characteristics of the northern India temple. The fundamental characteristics of the Drāvidian temple is its pyramidal elevation consisting of a series of storeys receding gradually to the top. The *Vesara* type of temple did not show any individuality till the beginning of 11th century A.D. This style emerged with elements from other two styles and hence may be considered as a hybrid form.[2] By the 8th century A.D. the Nāgara and Drāvida styles of temples with their distinctive characteristics became well marked. The Nāgara type of temples, as the archaeological remains indicate, had wide distribution in northern India as far as south of the Vindhyas, and the Drāvida style was widespread in South India covering the present States of Andhra Pradesh, Tamilnadu etc.

Of all the regional developments of the Nāgara style of temple architecture the most refined and finished manifestations are the temples at Khajurāho and in Orissa. According to Percy Brown there are seven regional developments. "One of the earliest movements, and one of the most definite in its evolution, was that on the eastern seaboard, in the province of Orissa, or according to its ancient name, Kalinga. Rather later in its origin, and as it is confined to one locality and one period so that it consists of a group rather than movement, are the samples of Khajurāho in Central India, all of which were built in a hundred years, from A.D. 950 to 1050. Further west and spread over the country of Rajputana and the adjacent portions of Central India, are the remains of many temples, representing what may be termed a post-Gupta period, as it was in this direction that the Gupta empire extended. South of this region, an important epoch of temple building took place in Gujarat and Kathiawar, the former being specially rich in architectural remains as the artistic traditions of its people are noteworthy. Still further south, in the Deccan, a phase of the building art prevailed in which the most southerly examples of the Indo-Aryan style are found. Finally, as they are rather of a distinctive character a few temples in the Fort at Gwalior and a local development at Brindaban near Mathura are referred to as small separate groups. Although each regional manifestation has its own particular qualities, there is throughout the entire range of this type of architecture, a certain undercurrent of thought resulting in a standardization of forms, principles, and procedure, which indicates that fundamentally all these examples belong to the same wide movement."[3]

The multitude of temples of Orissa and of Khajurāho provide the most logical beginning for a study of the Nāgara style. Of all the regional developments of Nāgara architecture Orissa furnishes one of the most remarkable examples. It witnessed the earliest fluorescence of temple architecture and nurtured it till the 13th century in ceaseless continuity. Bhubaneswar itself known as the city of temples furnishes us with hundreds of temples of various sizes from the 7th to the 16th century A.D. in various stages of evolution and preservation. According to James Fergusson the temples at Bhubaneswar constitute one of the most compact and homogeneous architectural groups in India.[4]

Similarly the temples of Khajurāho represent one of the most refined and finished manifestations of the north Indian architecture. "Unlike those of Orissa, the Khajurāho temples do not illustrate a development over a long period of time, for as shown by inscriptional evidences they were all erected within the relatively narrow interval of a hundred years, from about A.D. 950 to 1050. They imply therefore, a brilliant episode in the history of Indian temple architecture rather than the progressive course of a concerted movement, representing one of those rare occasions when religious emotion and unstinted patronage coincided with a flowering of buildings of the highest aesthetic standard and the utmost significance."[5]

In these regions the North Indian temple architecture evolved from a simple form to a complex one showing in every phase of evolution architectural sophistications, minute workmanship and graceful proportions. All these temples while following the Nāgara style exhibit as a natural course the regional variations.

The temples of Khajurāho are the works of the Chandela rulers and have a definite individual architectural character. The temples of this place stand on a high and solid masonry terrace as one unified structure, all the parts being so amalgamated as to form a compact architectural whole. Almost all the temples of Khajurāho group are of moderate size but look very fine as a result of their elegant proportions, graceful contours and elaborate surface treatment.

The circular sixty-four yogini temples concentrated mostly in central and eastern India evolved during the period from 8th to 12th century A.D., the period of the Śākta-tantric cult. Unfortunately architectural peculiarities of the circular yogini temple find no mention in the Śilpasāstras. Some scholars are of the opinion that the architecture of this type of temple is a departure from the Indian temple architecture. Charles Fabri is one such scholar who, while discussing the two yogini temples of Orissa, points out that the structure of these yogini temples is basically different from Brahmaṇic and other Hindu shrines and belongs to another world.[6] His conclusion is illustrated in the passage quoted below.

"For the two yogini temples possess no vimanas or sikharas (spires), no *mandapas* or temple chambers; no *garbha grihas* or sanctums, no main cult image, such as a linga or phallus, or a central statue of a divinity; no roof at all; the outline of the yogini shrines is fundamentally different from that of any of the contemporary or earlier, or later Orissan temples; their sculptural ornamentation is totally different from Brahmanic and Buddhist structures (for much of the Mahavihara of Ratnagiri belongs to this period too); and, in brief, with their circular shape, not covered by any roof, they resemble no Hindu shrine at all. Nor is the remote similarity to the Buddhist stupa, of any validity or interest as the outline is a tenuous identity; for the Buddhist stupa is an entirely solid, closed hemisphere, and not a circular wall, with an open arena within, not covered by any roof at all, as the two yogini temples are."[7] We are not inclined to accept his view that the architecture of yogini temples is basically different from Brahmanic and other Hindu shrines.

The Indian architecture has had multilinear rather than unilinear development; regional peculiarities have made the temples yet more complicated differing stylistically from one group to the other. Of the numerous styles of temples developed through the ages in the vast subcontinent of India, the circular yogini temples evidently form a distinct style. In the absence of textual evidences I cannot blindly conclude that the circular cloister is a departure from Hindu Brahmanical shrines. Thorough research on literature, mythology and archaeological remains will retrieve the real truth underlying this particular type of architecutre. Fabri's contention that the sculptural ornamentation in the yogini temples of Orissa is totally different from Brahmaṇic and Budhhist structures appears to be incorrect, for the cult of yogini is basically an integral part of the complicated Śākta-tāntric pantheon, which is not beyond the scope of Brahmaṇical religion. The cult of yogini was similar to other Brahmaṇical cults and has a continuous history for several centuries with wide distribution over a vast tract of the land. This is an established logical and historical process which, I suppose, cannot be gain-said by the scholars. Thus the yogini cult is a manifaceted manifestation of the Śākta-tāntric pantheon.

In this connection it may further be pointed out that the development of architectural designs owed much to the patronage of the ruling dynasties. We have abundant proof that the kings and emperors impressed the architects to translate their ideas into action. On close scrutiny of sculptural representation of a finished and elaborate extant temples a scholar or connoisseur can realize the truth of this contention.

Now the significant question remains with regard to the conception of circular cloister. In the absence of relevant literature in this context we may consider terms such as *maṇḍala*, *yantra* or *chakra* which possibly found expression in the form of circular yogini temples.

MANḌALAS

The word *Maṇḍala* was used in the sense of orb or circle. In the Taittiriya-Saṁhitā verse 3.9.2. a reference is made to circular bricks (maṇḍalāstaka). Then the orb of the Sun is also called the wheel (cakra) in Ṛg. Veda IV. 28.2 and V. 29.10. The Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad says, the Āditya is what is called truth (satya), and refers to the person in the orb (maṇḍala) of the Sun. Then it came to mean any figure or diagram generally circular drawn on an altar. Matsya Purāṇa refers in several passages to a maṇḍala drawn with powders of five colours. The Varāha Purāṇa refers to the images or paintings of Lakṣmi and Nārāyaṇa in a maṇḍala. The Agnipurāṇa (Ch. 320) refers to eight maṇḍals, *sarvatobhadra* and others. Several maṇḍalas are described in Sāradā Tilaka-III, a famous tāntric work, 113-118, 131-134, 135-139. The Jnānārṇava tantra (24. 8-10 and 26. 15-17) appears to hold that maṇḍala and cakra are synonymous.

Buddhist tantras also refer to much of maṇḍalas. The Niṣpannayogāvali (G.O.S.) of Abhyakaragupta, a contemporary of Rāmapāla, king of Bengal (1084-1130 A.D.) describes 26 maṇḍalas, each maṇḍala having a central deity and other minor Buddhist divinities.[8]

According to Devi Purāṇa there are twelve kinds of maṇḍalas namely Vimala, Vijaya, Rudra, Vimana, Subhada, Siva, Bardhamardaiva, Latakṣa etc. This text describes other details of the maṇḍalas such as the designs, the way of preparing the designs, and the effect of the maṇḍalas. This maṇḍala is considered to be the epitome of all gods and goddesses. To worship the maṇḍala means to worship all the deities.[9] "The maṇḍala is a pictorial representation of the one supreme consciousness, step by step, layer by layer into this creation of multitudinous forms. Equally it provides the scheme for the evolutionary return of the individual unit to the plenitude of the fundamental consciousness of the Head of all manifestations. This symbolic scheme is enlivened by a special occult process of tāntric ritual. Conditions of the archetypal creation are recreated, as it were, by this configuration. This framework is used by the practitioner for the evocation and precipitation of the cosmic process of disintegration and re-integration in his individual mould. Thus, the maṇḍala is no decorative imagery for a ritual. It provides a potent material focus for the operation of subtler forces within and without."[10] According to the Kulārṇava tantra worship becomes fruitless without a maṇḍala.[11]

YANTRA

Another important item in tāntric worship is '*yantra*' (geometrical diagram) sometimes called cakra which is also found to a great extent in the Purāṇas. A *yantra* is a diagram (figure) engraved, drawn or painted on metal, stone, paper or other material. It resembles a maṇḍala but differs from it in that a maṇḍala may be employed in the worship of any devatā, while a *yantra* is specially appropriated to the worship of a particular deity or employed for a particular purpose.[12] The Kulārṇava-tantra states, 'Yantra is a development (or product) of mantra and a deity apprehended in the form of a mantra; the deity worshipped on the yantra immediately becomes favourable : Yantra is so called because it removes all pains (or perturbations) arising from such faults as love and anger; if God is worshipped in yantras, he is pleased.' The same tantra further says 'if worship is done without a yantra the devatā is not pleased. Here the word 'yantra' is derived from the root 'Yantra'. In another place the tantra states 'yantra is so declared because it always saves (the worshipper) from Yama (god of death) and goblins and other dangers'. The Rāmapurvatāpaniya Upaniṣad observes that the arrangement (or preparation) of a yantra is the body of the deity which confers safety.

Some works evolved a 'Yantra-gāyatri' also. "These passages make it clear that a yantra was deemed to be a factor helping in restraining the restless movements of the mind due to anger, love and the like and in making the mind concentrate on a diagram or model deemed to represent the deity worshipped. It produced concentration and encouraged the mental realisation of the deity. It removed the distinction between the soul and the body. Most Hindus link upon such forms of worship without antipathy because it is felt that they serve as a way of approach of the divinity for ordinary unsophisticated people and that it is better to have one's foot on the lowest rung of the ladder to higher life than to have it on no rung at all."[13]

CAKRA

The *cakra*, on the other hand, the wheel representing constant movement is specifically meant for a particular deity. The tāntric worship leads the worshipper to the direct perception of the divine form and hence the cakra is considered very important in tāntric worship. The cakras symbolising beauty, harmony and symmetry are drawn with straight lines, triangles, circles and squares with lotus motif. The cakra or the circle may be taken as representation of the principle which has no beginning and has no ending but is perfectly symmetrical. The yoginis, therefore, in a circular temple[14] might represent such unending principle or maṇḍala. Śri Cakra the form of supreme Śakti and Śiva, together is verily the macrocosm as well as the microcosm i.e., the body of the two in one, Śiva-Śakti.

> This is the knot that ties together the stars,
>
> The two who are one are the secret of all power,
>
> The two who are one are the night and right in things.[15]

In the yogini maṇḍala represented in the yogini temple Śiva plays the pivotal role encircled by the yoginis, the manifestation of the Śaktis. The circular Śiva liṅga fixed in Śakti basically represents Śiva and Śakti in one form.

That the male and the female principles are inseparable and are found together in cosmic evolution is the real form of Śiva and Śakti. This idea is represented by the symbols of the liṅga and the yoni together. In the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (second skanda) Mahādeva is described by Brahmā as "the Pārabrahman, the lord of Śakti and Śiva, who are the womb and seed respectively of the universe, who, like a spider, forms it in his sport, through the agency of Śakti and Śiva, (who are one with Himself), preserves and reabsorbs it". The Lingapurāṇa also states that Pradhāna (nature) is called the liṅga and Parameśvara is called the liṅgin (the sustainer of the liṅga) and that the pedestal of the linga is Mahādevi (Umā) and the linga is the visible Maheśvara. A more express allusion to the generative power of the liṅga and the yoni, the emblems of the Śaiva cult, is found in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, wherein we are told that Brahmā asked Rudra, born of his anger to divide himself, thereupon Rudra divided himself into two, a male and a female portion.[16]

This conception later on must have been exemplified in the form of yogini temple with Śiva as the central figure and yoginis as various incarnations of Pārvati in a maṇḍala.

In consideration of the facts and interpretations stated above I may come to a tentative conclusion that the circular architectural design of the yogini temples is an iconic representation of Śiva and Śakti and it is a part and parcel of Indian architecture.

With this at the background I come to the description of the architectural designs of the extant circular yogini temples.

Sixty-Four Yogini Temple at Hirapur

The hypaetheral temple at Hirāpur, the earliest of all, looks like a Gouripatta with a projection of 4′ in length, 2′. 6″ in breadth and 5′ in height to its east. From the east there is a passage into the temple. The height of the enclosure from the ground level varies from 8′ to 9′, the length of the outer circumference 90′ and the diameter inside is 25′. The entire structure is made of a type of sand stone available in the neighbouring stone quarries, with the foundation of laterite blocks. The measurement of passage is 8′ in length and 2′. 6″ in breadth. The foundations of almost all the temples of Bhubaneswar are constructed of laterite blocks. The middle portion of the enclosure is embellished with a rectangular open maṇḍapa known as Devimaṇḍapa (9′.6″ × 8′) the upper part of which shows recent reconstruction. From the ground level the maṇḍapa is 9′ high with four doors to the east, south, west and north respectively.[17] The niches in inner enclosure and the Devimaṇḍapa contain the images of yoginis in chlorite stone and the outer surface contains nine images of Kātyāyani which will be dealt in detail in the next chapter.

Sixty Four Yogini Temple at Khajuraho

This temple, the most ancient structure at Khajurāho to the south-west of Sivasagar is situated on a rocky ridge. This temple is built of granite stone. The description of this temple is quoted from Cunningham's Archaeological survey report.[18]

"The Central temple of the chaonsat Jogini has altogether disappeared, and only the surrounding walls, with the 64 small cells of the female goblins, now remain. The courtyard is oblong in shape being 102¼ feet in length from north-east to south-west, and 59¼ feet in breadth. The walls are 5½ feet thick, and are pierced all round with small cells, each 3¼ feet deep, 2 feet 4½ inches broad, and 3¼ feet high. The entrance of each cell which is only 32 inches high and 18 inches wide, has once been closed by a double wooden door, as shown by the mortice holes in the granite lintels. Externally, each cell is covered with a small pyramidal roof, which was originally crowned with three amalaka fruits, one over the other, surmounted by a pointed pinnacle. By this arrangement each cell is actually a distinct temple, in which was most possibly enshrined the statue of a jogini, or perhaps a phallic emblem of Siva, but the former is the more probable if one may take the popular name as a guide. In the middle of the south west and there is a single large cell, answering in size to the entrance gateway at the north-east end, and on the east side of this cell there is a narrow passage of only 2 feet leading to the outside. Internally the ornament is limited to two sunken lines round the upper half of each door-way, and to a peculiar triangular projection over the front of each cell. Externally the only ornament consists of three horizontal bands of broad flat mouldings, which run all round the building, and of a bold projection at the back of each cell, which are in excellent keeping with the simple and massive character of the building. Altogether the chaonsat Jogini is one of the most curious buildings that I have yet met with. Of its age I cannot speak with any certainty. I think, however, that it is beyond all doubt the oldest building at Khajuraho, and therefore prior to A.D. 900; and if the simple and even rude form of the peculiar-triangular ornament over each cell may be taken as the original of the more elaborate ornaments of the same kind which are found in six other Buddhist and Brahmanical excavations at Kholvi and Dhamnar, then this temple must be of older date than the sixth or seventh century. But as this simpler form may, perhaps, be due solely to the difficulty of working anything more elaborate in such a hard and coarse material as the Khajuraho granite, it can only be accepted as a doubtful test of greater antiquity. I think, however, that I am quite safe in placing the date of the chaonsat Jogini in the eighth century of the Christian era, with a reservation that it may be probably even two or three centuries older."

Sixty-Four Yogini Temple at Ranipur Jharial

This yogini temple is circular in shape, with the inner diameter of 47 feet and it is devoid of any projected passage like Hirāpur. It contains sixty-four niches inside for the 64 yoginis. In the centre of the circular enclosure is seen a maṇḍapa that rests on four pillars enshrining an image of three-headed and eight-armed Śiva in Tāṇḍava dance pose and the images of Gaṇeśa and Pārvati. The maṇḍapa here like that of Hirāpur has been reconstructed recently. The temple had originally its opening to the south side which is now closed up and converted into a niche containing a figure of Chāmuṇḍā. Probably on closure of this door an entrance was made to the east side.[19]

The Sixty Four Yogini Temple at Bheraghat

The temple of Bherāghāt is situated at the confluence of Narmada and a small stream and the junction of the river is known as Sarasvati. Temples of various magnitude cluster on both sides of the river. "In the fork formed between the little Sarsuti and the great river, the rocks rise into a small hill, which is crowned by a temple, surrounded by a very curious circular cloister of considerable antiquity. A long flight of roughly hewn stone steps leads right up from the bed of the river to the temple."[20] "The temple has a huge thick wall with a circular row of pillars and pilasters arranged in two circles a flat roof running all along is supported by these pillars and pilasters. The inner diameter of the enclosure is 116′.2″ and the outer diameter 130′.9″. The actual cloister is 1.4 metres in width and 1.6 metres in height. There are in total 84 pillars. Three of the intervening spaces are left as entrances and the rest 81 spaces are meant for the statues. Each of the pedestals is 3 feet 5 inches long, 1′.8″ broad and one foot high. The pillars are 10½″ square, and the intervals between them 3′.5½″. But the intervals between the back pillars is 3′.7¾″ so that the pedestals just fit in between them and they were no doubt an integral part of the original structure."[21]

The circular temple appears to have been built in two phases. The old circular one with the inscribed statues may be assigned to the first phase and the upper portion of the back wall, the roof and the portico pillars of the present temple to the second phase.[22] According to R.D. Banerjee[23] the older shrine was rebuilt by queen Alhana Devi during the reign of her son Narasimha Deva in the Kalachuri-Chedi year 907—(1155 A.D.). The view of Cunningham in this connection is more appropriate "... My conclusion therefore, is, that the Chaunsat Jogini temple was originally a simple circular enclosure, containing the figures of the yoginis, the wall being of the same height as the statues. This old wall, with the inscribed statues, I would assign to the later half of the tenth century. That the original wall was restricted to this height, is absolutely certain, from the difference of construction between the upper and the lower portions. The lower wall up to the heads of the statues is built throughout of large squared blocks of stone, in regular courses, which fit together accurately while the upper portion is built of smaller stones of irregular shape, and not accurately fitted, the interstices being filled in with small pieces. In this upper part, also, there are many carved stones, belonging to former buildings. I conclude, therefore, that the circular cloister, as it at present stands, is the work of two different periods, the old circular wall, with its inscribed statues, belonging to the tenth century; and the cloister, with its roof, being the work of queen Alhana Devi in the twelfth century. To this later period I would assign the portico pillars of the present temple."[24]

It is clear that there was some sort of temple on this hill before the extant circular temple was erected in the 10th century A.D. Fragments of Chaitya window pillars later on were utilised to build the steps. The uninscribed standing images made of reddish sand stone belonging to earlier period confirm this point. Mrs Devala Mitra is of the view that some of the Mātṛkā images now seen along with the yoginis belong to the post-Gupta period. To her "Bheraghat was a centre of Sakta cult in the seventh century, when a temple was built in honour of the Sapta Mātrikās: Either on the ruins of this temple, or with the growing popularity of the tāntric cult of the sixty-four yoginis, an altogether new temple came to be erected here to house the entire yogini pantheon. The older images were, however, not neglected and found place alongside the new ones in the cloister, the circular formation of which may be due more to the exigency of the tāntric ritual than to the expedience of arranging so many images under one roof.[25]”

The temple of Gauri-Śankar located in the circular enclosure is of a later date. According to Cunningham the present temple is a modern building. The basement of the temple appears to be old and undisturbed.[26]

Yogini Temple at Dudhai

Mr M.B. Garde discovered a circular temple on the top of a solitary hill at Mitavali about 3 km. to the east of Padhabali near Gwalior. “It consists of a circular enclosure with a diameter of rather more than 170 ft. decorated on the outside with ornamental pilasters and sculptures. On the inside of the wall are sixty-five cells, and the centre of the enclosure in a round shrine with a mandap attached, the whole resembling in its general features the chounsat Jogini Temple at Bheraghat. Locally the Mitavali Temple is known as Ekottaraso (i.e. 101) the tradition being that there were 101 Śiva-Liṅgas enshrined in the cells. The original building dates from about the 11th century A.D., but from an inscription on one of the slabs of the shrine it appears to have been repaired during the reign of Virama, the Tomara chief of Gwalior, who was reigning in the early part of the 15th century.”[27]

Mr P.C. Mukherjee, while describing the temples at Dudhai mentions that the yogini temple known as Akhara is situated in the forest of Buri at Dudhai. It is circular in arrangement with flat-roofed cells of which twelve exist on the north and five on the south and the rest of the portions are demolished.[28]

The rest of the circular edifices need not be mentioned as most of them are gone except the few images of the yoginis. The above discussion on the extant circular yogini temples prompts me to conclude that the circular enclosure was a general principle for the yogini shrines. This type of temple architecture although peculiar to the Brahmaṇical architecture can basically be taken as an integral part of it. Here I am prone to mention that the worship of yoginis and the complicated ritual connected with the worship were confined to a particular sect and the general principles, theories and practices etc., were handed down secretly from the preceptor to the disciple and the occult practices were kept secret. The same analogy can also be applied in case of architectural designs of the circular yogini temples. The sculptors and the architects who were responsible for the construction of these temples might have been recruited from the same sect. Had the secrets of the yogini temples known to the general school of architects such type of temple architecture would probably have been introduced partially, if not fully, in other temples built in the same epoch and in the later periods.

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4

The Cult

This chapter deals with the cult of yoginis, their distribution, the sects connected with this, the allied cults, the lists of 64 yoginis from various texts, description of the cult images in the extant yogini temples, and the distribution of Sapta mātṛkās. This will more or less complete the discussion on the yoginis. Our discussion in this chapter is based on textual evidences (both manuscripts and printed books), on personal study of the temples, particularly in Orissa, and on personal contact with the scholars in the field.

I have focussed my attention in the earlier chapters on the fact that the yogini cult is very primitive and gained recognition in the 8th/9th century A.D., probably on account of the increasing influence of the cult of the seven or eight mothers. N.N. Bhattacharya is of opinion that the yoginis were originally human beings, women or priestesses who were possessed by goddesses and in course of time they were elevated to the position of divinities. The seven or eight were multiplied to sixty-four or more.

The cult as well as its occult and secret practices and philosophy were systematised and expounded by Matsyendranāth in his work Kaulajñānanirṇaya. He is described in his work as an incarnation of Bhairavaśiva,[2] in the form of a fish who learnt the secret of Dhyānayoga and Yājña-yoga from Śiva when he disclosed it to Gauri. The secret cult of Matsyendranāth was practised in the company of women in the circle known as yogini Kaula. But the new Kaula expounded by Matsyendra is called Matsyendra Kaula. This particular cult was ervealed by Bhairava in Candra Dvīpa in general and in the Kāmarūpa in particular to Bhairavi : and this Bhairava is none other than Matsyendra himself. Hence perhaps, it is called "Matsyendra Kaula" (Got from the belly of the fish, i.e. Matsyendra). Because it was practised in the company of women, it was disliked by Kārttikeya, who being a Brahmacārin and a purist twice tried to destroy it by submersion into the sea. For the same reason Gorakhnāth also disliked it and he is well-known for his staunch yogic Śaivism. It is reported that this peculiar secret knowledge went by the names of Mahat Kaula and Śiddhāmṛta in the former ages.[3] Matsyendranāth is stated to have expounded his secret yogini Kaula in Kāmarūpa where every woman was a yogini in the company of whom he discovered his new cult.[4] According to Kaulajñānanirṇaya the ultimate aim of the Kaula is the state in which the mind and the sight merged into the object to be visualised. The Soubhāgya Bhāskar describes Kaula as Śakti and Akula as Śiva, the union of the two is Kaula and the process of establishing this relationship is the Kaulamārga.[5] Śiva, the Akula, is represented in the yogini temples of Orissa and Khajurāho in supreme poise and beatitude with uplifted male organ symbolising the complete cessation of the triple stirrings of consciousness, breath and semen. The image echoes the reconciliation of the impassiveness of Yoga with the lyricism of sex. The mystic and esoteric Kaula rites that prevailed in India were systematised by Matsyendranāth, the author of Kaulajñānanirṇaya who preached the doctrine of yogini Kaula. The Bhaumakaras and Somavaṁsis in Orissa, Chandelas and Kalachuris in Madhya Pradesh erected the yogini temples in honour of the cult associated with the Kaula Kāpālika practice.

Kāpālikas

The Kāpālikas who are associated with yogini Kaula rites have their origin in the first century A.D. The word Kāpālini (one who bears a skull) finds mention for the first time in the Yājña Valkya-smṛti. The earliest reference to the Kāpālika sect we come across in the Prakṛiti Gāthā-Saptasati. The Lalitavistāra, a Buddhist text of the early Christian era speaks of the Kāpālikas besmearing their bodies with ashes, wearing red garments, and carrying a triple staff (tridaṇḍa), a pot, a skull, a Khatvāṅga. By the 6th/7th century A.D. the Kāpālika sect became very common in India. The Chinese pilgrim Hieun Tsang, while describing various types of Buddhist and other sects in India, speaks of the Kapāladhārins;[6] Jains and Digambaras. Hieun Tsang describes various non-Buddhist ascetics he came across in India: "the dress and ornaments worn by non-believers are varied and mixed. Some wear peacock's feathers; some wear as ornaments, necklaces made of skull bones . . . ; some have no clothing, but go naked . . . , some wear leaf or bark garments; some pull out their hair and cut off their moustache; others have bushy whiskers and their hair braided on the top of their heads. The costume is not uniform, and the colour, whether red or white, not constant."[7] According to Beal those who wear skull garland are Kāpālikas. Bāṇabhaṭṭa, who flourished in the court of Harṣavardhan, portrays the religious life prevalent in the kingdom alongwith the primitive and developed type of tāntric worship in his Harṣa Carita and Kādambari. Kādambari narrates the story of Sabara tribe of Vindhya forest who used to worship Chaulika by offering blood. Similarly the Harṣa Carita mentions in more lucid term the amalgamation of archaic magic and tāntric rituals. These rituals in the literature reveal a greater sense of Sanskritisation of the tribal customs and blend the tāntric worship with fertility magic. All these facts stated in the literature are associated with Kāpālika ascetics. The Kāpālika sect became widely prevalent by the time Bhavabhuti wrote his Mālatimādhava drama wherein he describes the famous pilgrimage sight in Kurnool district of Andhra Pradesh as the home of Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas. In this drama Kāpālikas play the two major villain roles and the yogini Saudāmini observes the vow of Kāpālika. Here we find an indication of public support for this sect.[8]

Several important Purāṇas describe disparagingly the Kāpālikas. The Brahmāṇḍa, Vāyu and Matsya Purāṇa datable (to the period, 3rd-7th century A.D.) narrate stories of Kāpālikas. According to Brahmāṇda Purāṇa Swayambhu (Śiva) created Paśupata Yoga first and Kāpālika yoga last.[9]

Inscriptions provide further literary sources on the Kāpālika sect. The term Kāpālika appears in two famous inscriptions from Śravaṇa Belgolā and one from Tiramakudal-Narsipur tāluk in Mysore district. In the earlier inscriptions the author compares the western Gaṅga king Mānsingh-III with Śiva, Lord of Kāpālikas.[10] The other two inscriptions of Śravaṇa Belgola speak in glowing terms of different sects.

"To the gate of the spacious palace of Satrubhayṁkara which is constantly thronged with passing troops of horses and numbers of mighty elephants of various kings, the high-minded Asambara (i.e. Digāmbara) Vimalachandra eagerly affixed a letter (addressed) to the Śaivas, the Paśupatas, the sons of Tathāgata (i.e. Buddha), the Kāpālikas, (and) the Kapilas."[11] Two other inscriptions from western India issued by Chālukya Nāgavardhana in the middle of the 7th century A.D. mentions the donation for the temple of Kapāleśwari and to the great ascetics.[12] The other copper plates found at Tilakwada in Baroda district donated in 1047 A.D., also refer to Kāpālikas. All these inscriptional evidences indicate that Kāpālikas were present almost in all parts of India in mediaeval period and were associated with Śākta tāntric temples. The Vaitāl temple at Bhubaneswar was originally a Kāpālika shrine. The image here, popularly known as Kapālini, represents Cāmuṇḍā in fierce form. Dr K.C. Panigrahi argues that Kāpālikas were the followers of Śiva but that Cāmuṇḍā was the deity of their worship.[13] "It is most likely, as we have already pointed out, that the sacrifice of human beings and other animals were resorted to in the temple of Kapālini (the Vaitāl) at Bhubaneswar and that the lower portion of the stone pillar that we still find in front of its door, is the remnant of a Yupa. Unlike the cellas of other temples, where light and shade intermingle to create a serene atmosphere, the sanctum of the Vaitāl is intensely dark. Darkness is no doubt an outcome of an altogether different ground plan that has been followed in this temple. The seriousness of the awful esoteric rites that were once performed here, must have been heightened by the darkness of the cella and by the presence of some images in their most terrific forms. Among the terrific figures carved on the inner walls, occurs a Bhairava depicted in the most hideous and terrific form that human imagination can ever conceive. This image might have been another deity of the worship, for the Kāpālikas take Bhairava to be the creator, protector and destroyer of the world and believe that all other gods are subservient to him. The above discussion will show that the Vaitāl was a shrine of the Kāpālikas."[14]

The sculptures in the mediaeval temples, particularly in South India identified as Kapāla-Bhairava and Kāpālikā or Kapāla Bhairavi[15] are the proofs of Kāpālika influence. The copper plate grants discovered from Nasik and Baroda further substantiate that some Kapāleśwar temples were associated with the Kāpālika ascetics.

The Kāpālikas and the Kālāmukhas are stated to have been associated with a type of penance or vow known as mahāvrata.[16] Various literary sources connect the Kāpālikas with mahāvrata. Mention may be made of Candapāla's commentary on Trivikram Bhaṭṭa's, "Nala Campu", Somadeva's, "Kathā Sarita Sāgar", Kshirasvamin's commentary on the "Amar Kośa", Gokulananda's "Anntodaya", and a few purāṇas which describe in detail Kāpālikas and their association with mahāvrata.[17] The mahāvrata of the Kāpālikas is associated with the mysterious brotherhood, has several peculiar characteristics such as a ritual including obscene dialogue and sexual intercourse. This great penance prescribe the killing of a Brāhmaṇa for the removal of the sin. It is difficult to ascertain that the Kāpālikas were in the habit of killing Brāhmaṇas. But this much is certain that the performance of this penance resulted in an unprecedented accumulation of religious merit and of magical power. The accounts of mahāvrata in its archaic form with the basic features we come across in Mastya Purāṇa.[8] According to one version of this Purāṇa, Pārvati asks why Śiva never leaves Avimuktakṣetra in Vārāṇasi. He replies that He cut off the fifth head of Brahmā out of anger. Brahmā losing His head cursed that Śiva would become a Kāpālin. Śiva became guilty of the crime of killing a Brahmaṇa and had to undergo the prescribed mahāvrata. The fifth head of Brahmā so cut-off was magically attached to the body of Śiva. Śiva in course of travelling with this head approached Viṣṇu for alms with the skull. Visnu in his turn lacerated his own side with tip of his nail. A great flood of blood gushed out for a thousand divine years but it could not fill the skull. Viṣṇu was surprised and asked Śiva about the origin of the mysterious skull. Śiva told him the story of cutting off the fifth head of Brahmā. Viṣṇu finally instructed him to repair to his own place where the skull would establish itself. Śiva travelled to many famous tīrthas but the skull could not establish itself until he visited Avimukta where his curse finally departed. Through the grace of Viṣṇu the skull was broken into pieces and the place where it was broken was made the famous tīrtha which removes Brahmahatyā and is known as the Kapālamochana of the gods.

The story reveals the model of the mahāvrata penance practised by Śiva to get rid of Brahmahatyā and the association of the Śaivite myth with Kāpālika ascetics. Now the question arises whether the Kāpālikas coined the myth to provide a divine model for their ascetic observance. Whatever might be the fact, the puraṇas, which evidently antedated the Śiva-Kāpālini myth, describe Śiva as the God of destruction. It was the destructive activities of Śiva which was associated with the Kāpālikas and later on the ascetics adopted it as their divine archetype. "The ultimate aim of the Kāpālika observance was a mystical identification or communion with Śiva. Through their imitative repetition of Śiva's performance of the mahāvrata, the ascetics became ritually 'homologized' with the god and partook of, or were granted some of his divine attributes, especially the eight magical power (Siddhis)."[19]

The doctrine of the Kāpālikas is known as Somasiddhānta, which finds mention in Sri Harṣa's Naiṣadha Carita, in Krisna Misra's Prabodha Chandrodaya, and in a few purāṇas.[20] The sources with regard to Somasiddhānta do not speak much about the philosophy except identifying it as the name of the Kāpālika doctrine. However, on the basis of available sources the scholars have attempted to reconstruct the basic doctrine of Somasiddhānta. The basic principle of Kāpālika faith was Bhakti or devotion to a personal god who has been identified as Śiva in his terrific Bhairava incarnation. The rituals of the Kāpālika sect were either propitiatory, or imitative, aiming at the mystical communion of the worshipper and his god. Through this process the devotee gained superhuman magical powers.

The Kāpālikas are described as specialists in human sacrifice. Such references to performing human sacrifices in order to propitiate the gods and goddesses are numerous. The Mālati Mādhava and Prabcdha-Chandrodaya describe in detail the performances of human sacrifices before Cāmuṇḍā and Mahābhairava. Here it may be relevant to mention that the custom of human sacrifice was prevalent in many parts of ancient India since the very early period. A number of Brāhmaṇas describe various types of Puruṣamedha (human-sacrifice). This peculiar custom gained prominence with the emergence of tāntric cult in medieval India. In some regions, particularly in Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Asssam, human sacrifice was common and continued in some form or other till it was suppressed during the British rule. The Kālikā Purāṇa,[21] an important Śākta tāntric work, describes in detail the animal and human sacrifices which may be associated with the Kāpālikas. The penances, spells and magic rituals of priest magician, Kāpālikas is based on the principles of mysticism and esotericism. The esoteric conditions are created by the use of mantras and yantra (mystic diagrama). The Kāpālikas for acquisition of occult powers resorted to the Pañcmakār Sādhanā which comprises Madya (wine), Mānsa (meat), Matsya (fish), Mudrā (grain), Maithuna (copulation). The references to this Sādhanā are numerous in both Hindu and Buddhist tantras. It is very likely that the Kāpālikas resorted to the Pañcamakār Sādhanā to gain control over mind and body.

From the above discussion it can be deduced that the Kāpālikas were very likely associated with cult of yogini alongwith other Śākta-tāntric cults and acted as the priest-magicians. The descriptions of the Kāpālikas in various texts, their sādhanā and rituals connected with propitiation of Śiva and Śakti prompt the scholars in the field to relate this mysterious sect with the mystic cults of yogini.

Kālāmukhas

The Kālāmukhas sect, contemporary of Kāpālika and Pāśupata sects was prevalent in South India particularly in Karnataka during 11th, 12th and 13th century A.D. The discovery of a large number of epigraphs in this region donated to the Kālāmukha temples and maṭhas indicates the wide prevalence and influence of the cult in this region. The term Kālāmukha refers to a particular system of marking their foreheads with a black streak.[22] The Kālāmukhas had two major schools—the Śākti-pariṣad, and the Siṁha-pariṣad. The latter had wider distribution covering Andhra Pradesh and Mysore. According to inscriptions the Kālāmukhas had systematic organisations, a hierarchical order together with doctrines and philosophy.

According to Ramanuja, the Kāpālikas, Kālāmukhas, Pāśupatas and Śaivas were the four Śaivite orders which followed the doctrine of Paśupati. The association of the Kālāmukhas with the Pāśupatas is well-established on the basis of similarity in the practices, worship pattern and doctrines. Several Kālāmukha ascetics are identified with Lakuliśa, the famous Pāśupata Teacher. The South Indian inscriptions substantiate the close relation between the Kālāmukhas and the Pāśupatas. Both Pāśupatas and Kālāmukhas continued to share a great number of traditions besides the common basis in the teachings of Lakuliśa. Another point of agreement between the two sects is their reference to the āgamas. The Śaivāgamas are stated to have originated in South India; all the texts which are enumerated as twenty-eight are associated with the doctrine of the Śaiva sect proper. Both the sects emphasised Yoga. According to a description in a grant from Munavalli in Belgaum district of 1252 A.D., the description of the Kālāmukhas runs as follows. "Whose body was sprinkled with ashes; who wore a small piece of cloth around the loins, and the hair is clean; who carried a rosary of Rudrākṣa."[23] The description in the inscription identifies Kālāmukha priests as a typical Śaivite ascetic. The inscriptions further reveal that the Kālāmukha ascetics possessed the yogic virtues of yama (restraint), niyama (discipline), prāṇāyām (control of respiration) etc. and were proficient in doctrine, logic, grammar, poetry, drama, music and many other branches of learning.

The circumstantial and epigraphic evidences point to the existence of a close association of the Kālāmukhas with Śākta-tāntric worship in South India similar to that of Kāpālikas. The voluminous hagiologies of the Kālāmukhas and other Pāśupata sects associated with a maze of legends, and based on historical data will on definitive analysis, retrieve the role played by the ascetics of these sects in the development of culture and religion.

While coming back to the discussion on the cult of the yoginis proper, I feel it wise to classify them in order to connect them with various lists available in texts with particular reference to yogini images of different centres discovered so far. The yoginis are sixty-four in number and are classified as Sahajā, Kulajā, Antyajā. According to another text the yoginis are divided into Kṣetrajā, Pīṭhajā, Yogajā and Maṇtrajā based on a different principle. The first two groups of the second classification have association with the sacred pīṭhas, the Yogajās' are propitiated with yogic practices and the Mantrajās with mantra. The mother goddesses such as Brāhmaṇi, Māheśwari, Vaiṣṇavi etc. are classified as yoginis.[24] The yogini Kaula of Matsyendra also refers to the worship of mystic circles (made up of 4, 8, 12, 64 and more angles, at the centre of which there is Śiva, omnipresent, immovable and unqualified. The sixty-four yoginis are, most probably so many angles representing the equal number of manifestations of Śakti embracing Śiva. The circle thus forms a 'Lotus' reminding us of the famous tāntric Sricakra."[25] The yogini Kaula-mārga of Matsyendranāth aimed at invoking the Śaktis through yoga and through external worship.

The number of yoginis is really perplexing. Different sources have given different numbers but ultimately the number 64 appeared to have been accepted by all authorities. Of the sixty-four yoginis the principal seven or eight are known as mother goddesses, such as Brāhmaṇi, Māheśwari, Kaumāri, Vaiṣṇavi, Varāhi, Indrāṇi, Cāmuṇḍā, who according to purāṇas were created to drink the blood. oozing out from the wounds of Raktabija. It is probable, these eight principal mothers who are evidently the yoginis were multiplied to sixty-four.

Sixty-Four Kalās

In connection with discussion of the group of "Sixty-four" we must refer to sixty-four kalās who are considered to be the sub-śaktis of Devi, adorned with various ornaments holding weapons and associated with vāhanas, family members and attendants etc. The names of the sixty-four kalās are: 1. Pingalākṣi, 2. Viśālāksi, 3. Smṛddhi, 4. Vṛiddhi, 5. Śraddhā, 6. Svāhā, 7. Svadhā, 8. Māyā, 9. Saṅghā, 10. Vasundharā, 11. Trilokadhātri, 12. Sāvitri, 13. Gāyatri, 14. Tridaśeśvari. 15. Surūpā, 16. Bahurūpā, 17. Skandamātā, 18. Achyutapriyā, 19. Vimalā, 20. Amatā, 21. Āruṇi, 22. Prakṛti, 23. Vikṛti, 24. Śṛiṣṭi, 25. Sthiti, 26. Saṃhṛti 27. Sandhyā, 28. Mātā, 29. Sati, 30. Hansi, 31. Mardikā, 32. Vajrikā, 33. Parā, 34. Devamātā, 35. Bhagavati, 36. Devaki, 37. Kamalāsani, 38. Trimukhi, 39. Śaptamukhi, 40. Sarāsura Vimardini, 41. Lamdosthi, 42. Urdhakeśi, 43. Bahusirasā, 44. Vṛkodari, 45. Ratharekhāhavayā, 46. Śasirekhā, 47. Gaganavegā, 48. Pavanavegā, 49. Bhubanapālā, 50. Madanaturā, 51. Anangā. 52. Amangamathanā, 53. Anangamekhalā, 54. Anangakusumā, 55. Visvarūpā, 56. Saurādikā, 57. Kṣayamkari, 58. Akṣobhyā, 59. Satyavādini, 60. Bahurūpā, 61. Suchivṛtā, 62. Udarā, 63. Bagisi. 64 Mṛgākṣī.

All these manifestations of the Śaktis are described as having luminous faces, long lolling tongues, fire coming out of their faces. The eyes are reddened with anger, ready to devour the whole universe. This reverberates with the clashing of their teeth. But in the other aspects they are skilled in the various arts of enjoyment and all are young and beautiful, associated with eight Śaktis in amorous gestures and postures. They are Anaṅgarūpā, Anaṅgamadanā, Madanāturā, Bhubanavegā, Bhubanapalikā, Sarvasisirā, Anaṅgavedanā and Anangamekhalā. These look as if the lightning flashes glimmer on all sides.[26]

Bhairavas

In connection with the yoginis, the cult of Śiva which is widespread in different parts of India and finds mention profusely in mythology particularly in Śiva Purāṇa, Liṇga Purāṇa etc., appears to be significant. The cult of Śiva has two aspects-benevolent (saumya), and malevolent (ūgra). Among various types of the terrific or ūgra forms of Śiva mention may be made of his Bhairavas, Aghora, Virabhadra and Birupākhya forms. According to āgamic texts there are sixty-four Bhairavas,[27] divided into eight groups and they are the counter parts of the sixty-four yoginis.

A story of Vāmana Purāṇa highlights the origin of the mystic Bhairavas. In ancient times there was a fierce battle between Mahādeva and Andhakāsura. Andhaka hit the head of Mahādeva with his mace. As a result blood oozed out from the wound and flowed down to four sides. From the stream of blood that gushed out of the head of Mahādeva the Bhairavas were created. From the blood stream flowing to the east was born Bhairava known as Vidurāja decked with beautiful ornaments and looking like a blazing fire. From the flow to the south was born Rāmarāja Bhairava, deep black in colour associated with pretas, from that of flow to west, Nāgarāja decorated with leaves and Atasi Kusuma in colour and from that of the north was born Bhairava known as Svachchandarāja, black in colour holding triśūla (trident) and lastly from the total flow of the blood came out a Bhairava known as Lambitarāja.[28] Eight names of Bhairavas, who are worshipped on the occasion of autumnal Devi worship are Mahābhairava, Samhārabhairava, Asitāṇgabhairava, Rurubhairava, Kālabhairava, Krodhabhairava, Kapālabhairava, and Rudrabhairava. According to Tantrasāra Asitānga, Ruru, Chanda, Krodha, Unmaṭṭa, Kapāli, Bhisaṇa, and Samhāra are the eight Bhairavas. We also find the mention of Bhairavas alongwith Mahāvidyās.[29]

The eight Bhairavas such as Asitanga, Ruru, Chanda, Krodha, Unmaṭṭa, Kapāla, Bhiṣaṇa, Samhāra, multiplied in course of time into sixty-four are given in the tabular form.[30]

Name of the Bhairavas	*Objects in hand*	*Colour*
1. Asitāṅga		
1. Asitāṅga, 2. Viśālākṣa 3. Mārtaṇḍa, 4. Modakpriya 5. Svachchaṇa, 6. Vighnasantuṣṭa 7. Khechara, 8. Sacharāchara	Trident, sword, drum and noose	Golden
1. Ruru		
1. Ruru, 2. Kroḍa-daṁṣṭra 3. Jaṭādhara, 4. Viśvarūpa 5. Virupākṣa, 6. Nānārūpadhara 7. Mahākāya, 8. Vajrahasta	Rosary, goad, lute (Vinā) and book	White
3. Chaṇḍa		
1. Chaṇḍa, 2. Pralayāntak 3. Bhūmikampa, 4. Nilakanṭha 5. Viṣṇu, 6. Kulapālak 7. Muṇḍapāla and 8. Kāmapāla	Fire (Agni) Spear, Mace and Kuṇḍa	Blue
4. Krodha		
1. Krodha, 2. Piṅgalakṣaṇa, 3. Abhrarūpa, 4. Dharāpāla 5. Kuṭila, 6. Mantranāyaka 7. Rudra and 8. Pitāmaha	Sword, shield, long sword and battle axe	Smoke coloured
5. Unmaṭṭa		
1. Unmaṭṭa, 2. Vaṭuka-nāyaka 3. Śaṅkar, 4. Bhūta-Vetāla 5. Varada, 6. Parvatā vāsu 7. Trinetra and Tripurāntaka	Kunda or kunta, shield, parigha (a kind of club) bhiṇḍipāla	White
6. Kapāla		
1. Kapāla, 2. Sasibhūśaṇa, 3. Hasticharmābaradhara 4. Yogiśa, 5. Brahmarākṣasa, 6. Sarvajña, 7. Sarvadeveśa 8. Sarvabhūtaḥṛdisthita	Kunda or Kanta, shield, parigha, abhiṇḍipāla	Golden yellow

7. Bhiṣaṇa 1. Bhiṣaṇa, 2. Bhayahara, 3. Sarvajña, 4. Kālāgni 5. Mahāraudra, 6. Dakshinā 7. Mukharā, 8. Asthira	As in Kapāla	Red
8. Saṁhāra 1. Saṁhāra, 2. Atiriktāṅga 3. Kālāgni, 4. Priyaṅkāra 5. Ghoranāda, 6. Viśālākṣa 7. Yogīśh, 8. Dakśasaṁsthita	As in Kapāla	Colour like lightning

Kātyāyani

The Kātyāyani, a manifestation in fierce aspect of Śakti, appears to have close association with yogini. The origin of this cult is as mysterious as that of the cult of yoginis. Since both yoginis and Kātyāyanis are the manifestations of malevolent attributes of the main Śakti, they seem to have originated simultaneously and for the same reason of killing the terrible demons. According to Oriya Kālikā Purāṇa, Devi Durgā created sixty-four yoginis and Nabakoti (Nine) Kātyāyanis, fierce in appearance to kill the demons.[31]

The first mention of the goddess Kātyāyani alongwith Vairocani, Durgi and Kanyākumāri, we come across in Taittiriya Āraṇyaka. Thus the goddess Kātyāyani, Ambikā, Durgā, Śri, Bhadrakāli of the later vedic period gained wide currency in the subsequent periods and some of them crept into the Buddhist and Jain pantheons.[32] The Harivaṁsa (1st century A.D.) refers to numerous names such as Kālarātri, Nidrā, Kātyāyani, Kauśiki, Virūpā, Virupāṣki, Viśālakṣi, Mahādevi, Kaumari, Chaṇḍi, Dakṣi, Śivā, Kāli, Bhayadā, Vetāli, Sakuni, yogini, Bhutadhātri, Kusmaṇdi who were invoked by the people during the epic period and who became very popular in later ages as the tāntric goddesses.[33] During the period of purāṇas (4th-7th century A.D.) the Śākta tāntric cult attained the unprecedented degree of popularity in the society. The Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Viṣṇu, Mārkaṇḍeya and Matsya purāṇas mention in high sounding epithets, the importance of the Śakti goddess and conceive her as a war goddess who while conferring victory and success on her devotees in the battle-field, participates in the battle to redeem the people from the oppression of the demons. The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa describes the origin of the goddess Kauśiki who appeared before the gods in terrible appearance and assured them to save them from the fortune of the demons. "This Kauśiki is also identified with Kātyāyani, Vindhyavāsini, Caṇḍikā and Nandā. The name Kauśika tribe, and the legend of her coming out from the Kośa of Pārvati was evidently invented to rationalise the role of the tribal goddess into the frame-work of the Śākta conception of the Devi. The same also holds good in the case of Kātyāyani, who probably belonged to the Kātya tribe, but it is stated that a mass of energy produced from the flames of the gods' anger caused by the misdeeds of Mahiṣāsura, was thrown into the hermitage of the sage Kātyāyana who nourished it to create the goddess. The goddess thus produced came to be known as Kātyāyani to whom Śiva gave his trident, Viṣṇu his disc, Varuṇa his conch, Agni his dart, Yama his iron rod, Vāyu his bow, Sūrya his quiver and arrows, Indra his thunder bolt, Kuber his mace, Brahmā his rosary and pot, Kāla his sword, Viśvakarmā his sword, Himavāna his lion, and other gods their various weapons. Vindhyavāsini, as the name implies, was a regional deity who came to be identified with Caṇḍikā, Kauśiki and Kātyāyani and especially with Nandā, the offspring of Yaśodā in the house of Nandagopa, who was made responsible for the slaying of Śumbha and Niśumbha".[34]

According to Kālikā Purāṇā[35] Brahmā invoked Mahādevi for the purpose of killing the all-powerful Rāvaṇa. Having been pleased, Mahādevi Kātyāyani came to the city of Lankā and inspired both Rāma and Rāvaṇa to engage in a fierce battle. She witnessed the battle in disguise. The war continued for one week and Mahādevi noticed the battle in pleasure in all these seven days and saved Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and the monkeys and killed Rāvaṇa and the demons. Here Devi is conceived as war goddess having ten arms, wearing on her head the jaṭā-mukuṭa with crescent moon, her face resembling the lustre of the full moon, with three bright eyes and an appearance in full bloom, standing in tribhaṅga attitude, in the posture of killing Mahiṣāsura, holding in her right hands, the triśūla, khaḍga, bāṇa, cakra, and saktāyudha and in the left hands kheṭaka, pāśa, aṅkuśa, ghaṇṭa and paraśu, associated with the demon coming out of the decapitated body of Mahiṣa with a sword and a shield in his hand and chest pierced by the triśūla of the Devi.

In the beginning of Tretā age Yoganidrā, Yogadhātri, Jaganmayī, Mahādevi, Mahāmāyā, appeared out of the accumulated energy of all the gods in the form of sixteen-handed Bhadrakāli decked with gold ornaments and other attributes as described above with sila, khaḍga, saṅkha, cakra, vāṇa, śakti, vajra, and daṇḍa in right hands and kheṭaka, charma, chāpa, pāśa, aṅkuśa, ghanṭa, paraśu and mūsala in left ones, riding her vāhana crouchent lion ready to attack Mahiṣa, placing her left foot on the shoulder of the demon while piercing the chest with her śūla. Such an all pervasive deity revelling in her war-cry, blooming like resplendent sun but smiling gracefully told the gods congregated to propitiate her, told them to come to the hermitage of Kātyāyana Muni situated in the Jambu Dvīpa near Himālaya. With this Mahādevi disappeared. The gods in a fighting mood came to the hermitage of Kātyāyana and enquired among themselves the reason for ordaining them to come to the hermitage. As they were sure of the death of Mahiṣāsura, the gods thus desirous of propitiating Mahādevi confused the existence of another formidable enemy. Out of anger of the gods individually a concerted energy appeared in the form of a Mahādevi who was invoked first by Kātyāyana Muni. Thus she popularly came to be known as Kātyāyani. The goddess took a concrete form on the seventh day of full moon fortnight in the month of Āśvina; on the eighth day she was well equipped with the ornaments, vehicles and the respective weapons of the gods; on the ninth day she killed Mahiṣāsura and on the tenth day she disappeared.

Sagar interrogated Mārkaṇḍeya, asking why Mahādevi, when she had killed Mahiṣāsura, again appeared in the form of Bhadrakāli to kill him (Mahiṣāsura). In fact, the gods witnessed the Bhadrakāli manifestation of the goddess in the pose of attacking him by her left foot and piercing śūla on his breast. The story of Bhadrakāli is narrated in the following manner. The powerful demon Mahiṣāsura dreamt a terrible dream that Mahāmāyā Bhadrakāli in a terrible appearance was severing his head by her khaḍga and drinking his blood. Having been terrified Mahiṣāsura propitiated such a deity with his companions. The sixteen handed Bhadrakāli appeared before him in the form he dreamt of. Mahiṣāsura bowed down his head before Jaganmayī Mahāmāyā. Out of deep devotion he told, "O' Devi, I have dreamt in reality that you are drinking blood from my severed head. From this I assume that you will drink my blood. Therefore kindly offer me a boon. O' Parameśwari it is certain that I will be killed by you. I am not worried about that, because who can go against his own fate? But my father propitiated you and Śambhu for me and as a consequence of boon offered, I was born. So also through my own deep penance I have obtained my desired boon from Śambhu. I have enjoyed the demon kingdom for three long manvantara ages, free from enemies. I am not at all repentant. Kātyāyan Muni with a view to saving his disciple cursed me that a lady would kill me. In the past a ṛṣi named Raudrāśva disciple of Kātyāyana was deeply engaged in penance near Himālayan mountain. Out of curiosity I charmed the ṛṣi in the appearance of an extremely beautiful maiden. Having been lulled, the ṛṣi deviated suddenly from his deep penance. Kātyāyan ṛṣi staying in the vicinity came to know of my disguise. In anger he saved his disciple by cursing me, saying that as I charmed his disciple in the disguise of a maiden and distracted him from his penance, the women folk would kill you. Now I realise that I will have to reap the consequence of the curse. I have become Indra of Heaven and enjoyed the never ending Tribhuvan. No desired thing is left for my enjoyment. O' Devi Durga I prostrate before you again and again to fulfil my last prayer". Devi told :

Prarthaniyo baro yajñe tam brinisva mahāsura

Dāsyāmi te baram prārthyam samsayo nātra bidyate.

(I promise whatever boon you desire I bestow)

Mahiṣāsur told :

Yajañbhāgamahaṁ bhaktumichhāmi tvat prasādatah

Yathā makheśu sarveśu pujyohoham syam tathākuru.

Tvatpādasevām natyakṣya yāvatsūrya pravartate
Evam baradvayam dehi yadi deyo baro mama."

(I want to partake sacrifice by your grace. Give me a boon that I will be worshipped with you in the sacrifice. My second prayer will be that I will be at your feet so long the sun is in existence).

Devi told "In the past every portion of the sacrifice was distributed among the gods and goddesses. Not a single portion is left which I can offer you. But o' Mahiṣāsura! I assure you that although you will be killed by me you will be all along at my feet, and wherever I am worshipped you will be worshipped".

Having heard this he bowed down his head before Devi and said cheerfully.

"O' Ugracaṇḍe : Bhadrakāli : Devi; Durge; thy have many manifestations; the entire universe is your creation. Therefore O' Parameśwari! tell me your manifestations with which I will be worshipped". Devi replied, "O' Mahiṣāsura, you will be worshipped with those manifestations of mine which you utter now".

"In the appearance of Ugracaṇḍa I killed you in the first creation; in the second creation I killed you in the appearance of Bhadrakāli and in the form of Durgā I will kill you in the third creation. Alongwith these three images of mine you will be worshipped by human beings, gods and demons. In the Durgā manifestations I will offer you space at my feet". With this Devi appeared in Ugracaṇḍā form with eighteen hands i.e. with the addition of two more hands holding *gadā* in the right and wine vessel in the other, associated with muṇḍamālā. This image is in the colour of collyrium, terrible in appearance riding her *vāhan*, the lion, with red eyes and a colossal body. Mahiṣāsura in wonder and admiration prostrated himself before the goddess. As Devi had killed Mahiṣāsura at her feet she accepted him in the same position. With his breast pierced by a *śūla*, the body of Mahiṣāsura emerged from the womb of Mahiṣa whose head was severed by Devi; emerging from the decapitated body with blood gushing out profusely, Mahiṣāsura was terrified, and became unconscious. On regaining his sense he told in the trembling voice, "Oh! Devi if you are so pleased, let me not have rebirth, nor any enmity with gods." Devi replied, "you have propitiated me and I offer you a boon. You will certainly be killed by me. Your prayer that you will have no enmity with god is granted. Your body in association with my feet will be entitled to partake the share of sacrifice. 'O' Mahāsura! with the touch of the feet of Mahādeva, your life will persist in the soul and you will not be reborn". With the offering of this boon Devi disappeared. Mahisāsura came back to his residence but his devilish qualities once again spurred in him.

In the reply to a query of Sagar with regard to why Devi accepted Mahiṣāsura and offered him boon although she had killed many demons in her various manifestations, Ouraba said that a demon named Rambha pleased Mahādeva in his deep penance and asked him to seek for boon. The demon was issueless, so he prayed for a son who would be killed not by any animal, would conquer all the gods, would never die, would attain the pinnacle of power and wealth. Mahādeva offered him the boon and told him that he would be born as his son. With this Mahādeva disappeared. Rambhāsura, while returning home in the mood of wonder and mirth was infatuated to see a three year old, colourful she-buffalo when she was at her menstrual cycle. Rambhāsura enjoyed her by force, thus Mahādeva was born as Mahiṣāsura from this she-buffalo. This Mahiṣāsura was cursed by Kātyāyana for torture to his disciple. Having heard of Kātyāyana's curse on Mahiṣāsura, Candraśekhara Mahādeva prayed to Jaganmayī that, Mahiṣāsura would be killed by the female folk in fulfilment of the curse of the ṛṣi. He told "O' Jaganmayi Devi Mahiṣīsura is a manifestation of mine, he has been killed by you previously and will be killed by you now. Now let my appearance of Mahiṣa will be your vehicle". In fulfilment of the prayer of Mahādeva, Devi accepted Mahādeva-Mahiṣāsura. That is why Mahiṣāsura finds space under the feet of Mahādevi. This legendary account of Kālikā Purāṇa, while telling lucidly the origin of Kātyāyaui indicates clearly the triumph of Śaktism over Śaivism. It is but natural that since Kālikā Purāṇa is a śākta upapurāṇa it emphasises the importance of Śakti over other gods. However, the story of Kātyāyani originated earlier was further highlighted by Kālikā Purāṇa (11th century A.D.).

The 'Devi carita' and 'Navadurgā pujā Rahasya' of Rudrajāmalā describe in detail the story of Durgā, her worship pattern associated with the autumnal Navarātra festival and the nine forms of goddess namely, Śailaputri, Skandamātā, Kusmāṇḍi, Kātyāyani, Brahmacāriṇi, Candaghaṇṭā, Kālarātri, Mahāgauri and Devadūti. The Matsyasuta while describing the autumnal festival refers to the worship of different forms of the goddess in various parts of the country, i.e. eight-handed form in Odra, Kaliṅga and Madhyadeśa, twelve-handed in Mahendra, Himālaya, Kuru, Mathurā and Kedār, ten-handed in Makaranda, Virāta, Kaunara, Gauḍa and Paripatra, four-handed in Maratha, Nepal, Kaccha, and Konkan, two-armed near the sea and eighteen-handed in Ayodhyā, Saurāṣṭra, Srihatta and Kośala.[36]

The Skanda Purāṇa describes her as a virgin residing in the Vindhya mountain and responsible in killing Mahiṣāsura. She was born of the energy of gods and was known as Kātyāyani, holding in her twelve arms, the weapons offered by gods.[37]

"In the Matsya Purāṇa the goddess is depicted having ten hands and taking the forms of three gods—Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva. She is having matted hair, disc or moon on her forehead, three eyes, lotuslike beautiful face, in her blossoming youth, decked with all the ornaments and in good dress. She killed demon Mahiṣāsura. In her ten hands are triśūla, sword, disc, sharp arrow and ṣakti, while in her left hands are kheṭaka, curnacāpa, parasu, ghanṭa, and pāśa. She is shown mounting on the trunkless dead body of Mahiṣāsura. She is riding on a lion placing her right foot, while left is placed on Mahiṣa. Thus our goddess Kātyāyani is praised and worshipped by the gods and the sages."[38]

The Varāha Purāṇa[39] furnishes an interesting account of the destruction of Mahiṣāsura. "Vaishnavi, the Sakti of Vishnu, was making tapas on the Mandara mountain. On one occasion, her mind lost its concentration, and in consequence several handsome looking females were born out of her. They began to attend upon the Devi; and thus, looked after by these damsels, she began to continue her austerities. Narada, who happened to pass by that way, saw her resplendent beauty, and told Mahiṣasura of the existence of a real paragon of beauty on the Mandara mountain. Seized by the madness of possessing her, the asura, prepared himself to capture her and marry her. As a preliminary step he sent a messenger to the Devi to relate to her his greatness and prowess and to ask her to accept him as her consort. This messenger narrated to her the origin and history of Mahiṣāsura thus: When the rishi Sindhudvipa, son of Suparsva′ was practising penance in Mahishmati, a girl named Mahishmati, a daughter of Viprachitti came with her friends to the Mandara Parvata on a pleasure excursion. There they came upon a beautiful abode of a rishi, which she wanted to take possession of. To drive away the then occupant of the asrama, they all took the shape of she-buffaloes and threatened to gore the rishi, who was doing penance. The rishi perceived by means of his mental vision the truth of the situation and cursed that these girls should all become real mahishis or she-buffaloes. As soon as they heard the curse, they began to realise the formidable nature of the offence they had committed and began to repent. The rishi also became cooled down somewhat, and promised them that their buffalo nature would disappear from them as soon as a buffalo son was born to Mahishmati. After some years had passed by, Mahishmati was grazing on the banks of the Narmadā. The rishi Sindhudvipa, who had also gone there, met a celestial nymph named Indumati and fell in love with her. As he was not able to approach her, his seed fell in the river Narmadā, and it was swallowed by the waters of the river by Mahishmati, who took them her drink from the Narmadā. This seed grew in the womb of Mahishmati, and in time Mahiṣāsura was born. In addition to giving this description of the origin of Mahiṣāsura, his messenger praised also the intelligence and valour of his master. On hearing this, Jaya, one of the attendants of the Devi, replied by saying that none of the women on the Mandara mountain was going to get married, and that therefore he might depart in peace. He left accordingly. After the departure of the messenger Narada appeared before the Devi, and informed her that Mahiṣāsura, having defeated all the gods, was going to her to carry her away by force. Very soon, the asura, as stated by Nārada, came with a large army to attack the Devi; she with her female attendants met him and his army in battle and completely destroyed all of them".

The following account of the destruction of Mahiṣāsura is alluded in Vāmana Purāṇa.[40] Pulastya addressing Nārada says—"The gods, having been defeated by Mahiṣāsura, forsook their abodes and hastened with Brahmā at their head to implore the protection of Viṣṇu. Śaṅkara was also present there; and, when the gods finished relating their grievances, Viṣṇu, and at his command, Brahmā, Śaṅkara and all the gods so emitted flames of anger from their eyes and countenances that a mountain of effulgence was formed. From this mountain came forth Kātyāyani, resplendent as a thousand suns, with three eyes, with hair black as night and with eighteen arms. To her Śiva gave a trident, Viṣṇu a disc, Varuṇa a conch, Agni a dart, Yama an iron rod, Vāyu a bow, Sūrya a quiver and arrows, Indra a thunderbolt, Kubera a mace, Brahmā a rosary and a waterpot, Kāla a sword and shield, Viśvakarma a battle-axe and other weapons, Himavan a lion, and other gods various arms and ornaments. Being thus armed and adorned by all the gods, Kātyāyani proceeded to the Vindhya mountain. These two asuras, Chaṇḍa and Muṇḍa saw her, and immediately hastened to their king, and informed him that a most lovely goddess had singly fixed her abode on the Vindhya mountain. On hearing the high encomiums which Chaṇḍa and Muṇḍa bestowed on the beauty of this goddess Mahiṣāsura determined to obtain possession of her and ordered his army to be collected and marched to the vicinity of the mountain. He himself entered into a lofty pavilion and then sent the son of Maya to summon the goddess to his presence. Dundubhi, the son of Maya, accordingly proceeded to her, and standing respectfully at a short distance addressed her 'I am, O virgin lady, a messenger sent by the chief of the asuras'. Kātyāyani replied—'Approach; Approach; and dismiss thy fear, and truly deliver the message which thou bringest'. Encouraged by these words, Dundubhi answered,—"Thus says Mahiṣa, the king of the asuras,—'The gods wander upon the earth, helpless and powerless, as the three worlds have been conquered by me. It is I who am Indra and Sūrya; I am the sole lord of the Universe, and there is no other god than me. In battle am I unconquerable; and by my victorious arms have I acquired possession of every desirable thing that the world contains. But on thy account, O' lovely virgin; have I now come to this mountain; hasten, therefore, to pay due obeisance to the lord of the universe, for thou art worthy of becoming his spouse'." Kātyāyani replied,—"It is true that the mighty asura Mahiṣa has subdued the three worlds, and I also am ready to obey him; but there is a custom, long established in my family, which requires that each daughter of our house should be conquered in battle by her wooer before she can be united to him in marriage. From this custom I cannot deviate. Before, therefore, I can become the spouse of thy king, he must vanquish me in combat". Dundubhi, on hearing these words, returned to Mahiṣa, and acquainted him with the determination of the goddess; and he immediately ordered his army to advance, on observing which the gods exclaimed to Durgā,—'Put on thy armour'. But she said,—'I will not, for what necessity is there for armour, when none but these vile asuras stand before me ?'. Viṣṇu, however, presented her with armour, and entreated her to protect herself with it against the weapons of her ememies, especially as in consequence of a boon granted by Śiva to him Mahiṣa had been rendered almost invulnerable.

"When Devi perceived the elephants, the horses, the foot soldiers and chariots comprising the army of the asuras approach her, she at once strung her bow and rained on them a ceaseless shower of arrows. Many of the enemies of the gods she slew with her shafts; others with her sword; and with her various other weapons she caused havoc in their ranks, as her lion brandishing its mane bore her along . . . Thus Kātyāyani destroyed countless hosts of the bold asuras, and on beholding the battlefield covered with their corpses, she seized a vīṇa and a ḍamarū in joy and laughingly began to play. Wherever she moved, drawing out music from her instruments, ghosts and goblins shouted out in response and danced; and her lion tossed about in sport the lifeless bodies of the slain. But Mahiṣa, on viewing the destruction of his army, hastened to engage, the goddess in personal combat; and Kātyāyani, equally eager for the combat, urged on her lion. Then commenced a terrible duel in consequence of which the summits of mountain were rent beneath their feet, the earth and the ocean trembled, and the very clouds up above became scattered. In vain did the goddess employ her various weapons again and again; the wily art of Mahiṣa rendered them all innocuous; even when she succeeded in binding him with the noose given her by Varuṇa, carrying the rope round his horns, his muzzle and hoofs, he escaped from the bond; and when she hurled a thunder-bolt at him, he shrank into such a diminutive size that it went past him leaving him uninjured. At length Durgā dismounted from her lion and sprang upon the back of Mahiṣa, and with her own tender feet so smote his head that he fell senseless on the ground; and then she immediately cut off his head with her sword; and all the hosts of asuras exclaimed alarmingly."

In other works also similar stories are given of the killing of Mahiṣāsura by the Devi. The destruction of Mahiṣāsura is considered to be allegorical; the Padmapurāṇa says that in the Svayambhavamanvantara, Mahiṣāsura was killed by Vaiṣṇnavi on the Mandaragiri, that he was once again destroyed by Nanda in the Vaivasvatamanvantara on the Vindhya mountain, and that thus personified ignorance was killed by Jñānaśakti, which is the same as personified wisdom. It may also be that this story indicates the substitution of a form of goddess-worship for the buffalo totem worship among certain early primitive tribes in the country.

Besides the purāṇic accounts dealt with above we have inscriptional evidences of the goddess Kātyāyani. The Nāgārjuna Hill inscription of the Maukhari chief Ananta Varman refers to the enshrinement of an image of the goddess Pārvati under the name of Kātyāyani alongwith the grant of a village to the goddess for her maintenance. Another inscription in the Brahmaṇical temple near Neemuch Railway station on the Ajmer-Khandwa Railway line records the construction and the consecration of a temple of the Devi Kātyāyani in 491 A.D.[41]

The Bata Abakās of Balaram Das, in Oriya written in 16th century, A.D. mentions that Lord Jagannāth is attended upon by sixty-four yoginis, Kātyāyani, Sapta-Māṭṛika, Vimalā and Virajā and also refers to seventy-two local goblins the names of which are Śākambhari, Kāntāni Durgeśvari, Kāli, Raṇacaṇḍi, Kotheśvari, Bhagavati, Vāśeli, Hādimāi, Kotamācaṇḍi, Brahmāyaṇi, Indrākṣṣi, Śāvitri, Śāralācaṇḍi, Jeunehhi, Aparājitā, Rupāi, Champāi, Piṅgalā, Sārakamā, Mārakamā, Bhagavati, Heṅgulā, Kalāpāti, Kāli-Kāi, Kālarātrī, Kālikā, Pāteli, Mādhaviśwari, Kalāsuṇi, Cācikā, Chhāyā, Māyā, Vijayā, Caṇḍaghanṭa, Kāreṇi, Kālaghaṅṭa, Kālamukhi, Khākhai, Akyamahi, Śosini, Piśāchai, Truti-Khai, Hemā, Śanti, Sarpamukhi, Jāgulai, Hādabāi, Sāmalāi, Somasani, Sthiti, Abalā, Mahāsarvaṇi, Tarasuni, Binchabasin, Maṅgalā, Sāraṅgāi Narāngāi, Sañchoyi, Biṅchoi, Olamāi, Polamāi, Karuṇāi, Baruṅai, Ratnakānti, Ratmanālā, Chaturbhuji, Jitāi, Virojāi, Ketukāi, Ravaṇāi, Mahamāyi, Birasohṇṭā, Kālatuṇḍi, Dakuṇi, Dokaṇi, Ailāsuṇi, Tareṇi, Jāreni, Māreṇi, Sapancheti, Nārāyaṇi, Kanakeśwari.[42]

The association of Kātyāyani with Yogini is exemplified in the temple of Hirapur, which will be discussed in due course. It is not known why other yogini temples are not associated with Kātyāyani. Probably the cult of Kātyāyani had gained wide celebrity when the yogini temple was erected.

The nomenclature of sixty-four yoginis we come across in Kālikā Purāṇa, Bruhanāradiya Purāṇa, Skandapurāṇa and in other texts and also the inscribed images at Bherāghāt temples. The lists of 64 yoginis found in different texts are appended here.

LIST OF YOGINIS ACCORDING TO KĀLIKĀ PURĀṆA.[43]

1. Brahmāṇi
2. Chaṇḍikā
3. Raudri
4. Indrāṇi
5. Kaumāri
6. Vaiṣṇavi
7. Durgā
8. Nārasiṁhi
9. Kālikā
10. Chāmuṇḍā
11. Sivadaṇṭi
12. Vārāhi
13. Kauśiki
14. Māheśwari
15. Saṅḳari
16. Jayaṇṭi
17. Saravamaṅgalā
18. Kāli
19. Kapālini
20. Meghā
21. Śivā
22. Śākambari
23. Vimā
24. Sāṇṭā
25. Bhramari
26. Rudrāṇi
27. Ambikā
28. Kṣemā
29. Dhātri
30. Swāhā
31. Swadhā
32. Aparṇā
33. Mohādri
34. Ghorarupā
35. Mahākāli
36. Bhadrakāli
37. Bhagaṅkari
38. Kṣemaṅḳari
39. Ugrachaṇḍā
40. Chandogrā
41. Caṇḍanāyaki
42. Caṇḍā
43. Caṇḍūbati
44. Chaṇḍi
45. Mahāmedhā
46. Priyaṇḳari
47. Balavikārini
48. Balapramathini
49. Manonmohini
50. Sarbabhutadānini
51. Umā

52. Tārā
53. Mahānidrā
54. Bijayā
55. Jayā
56. Śailaputri
57. Caṇḍaghanṭā
58. Skandamātā
59. Kālarātri
60. Caṇḍikā
61. Kusmāṇḍi
62. Kātyāyani
63. Mahāgauri

LIST OF YOGINIS ACCORDING TO SKANDAPURĀṆA[44]

1. Gajānanā
2. Siṁhamukhi
3. Gṛghrāsyā
4. Kākatuṇḍikā
5. Uṣtragrivā
6. Hayagrivā
7. Vārāhi
8. Saravānanā
9. Ūlukikā
10. Śivārāvā
11. Mayūri
12. Vikaṭānanā
13. Aṣṭavaktrā
14. Koṭarākṣi
15. Kubjā
16. Vikaṭalochanā
17. Śuṣkodari
18. Lālajihvā
19. Śvadaṅṣṭrā
20. Vānarānanā
21. Ṛkaṣkṣṣi
22. Kekārakṣi
23. Bṛhattuṇḍā
24. Surāpriyā
25. Kapālahastā
26. Raktākṣi
27. Śūki
28. Śyeni
29. Kapotikā
30. Pāśahastā
31. Daṇḍahastā
32. Pracaṇḍā
33. Caṇḍavikramā
34. Śiśughni and Pāpahantri
35. Kāli
36. Rudhirapāyini
37. Vasādhayā
38. Garbhabhakṣā
39. Śavahastā
40. Āntramālini
41. Sthūlakeśi
42. Bṛhatkukṣiḥ
43. Sarpāsyā
44. Pretaaāhanā
45. Daṇḍaśūkarā
46. Krauṅci
47. Mṛgasirśā
48. Vṛshānanā
49. Vyāttāsyā
50. Dhūmaniḥśvāsā
51. Vyomaika
52. Charaṇordhvaḍḍak
53. Tāpani
54. Śoshaniḍḍaṣṭiḥ
55. Koṭari
56. Sthūlanāsikā
57. Vidyūtprabhā
58. Bālakāsyā
59. Mārjāri
60. Kaṭapūtanā
61. Kāmākṣi
62. Aṭṭahāsā
63. Mṛgākshi
64. Mṛgalochanā.

3. LIST OF YOGINIS ACCORDING TO BṚHADA-NANDIKEŚWAR PURANAKTO DURGĀPŪJĀ PADDHATI[45]

1. Nārāyaṇi
2. Gouri
3. Śākambari
4. Bhimā
5. Raktadantikā
6. Bhramāṇi
7. Pārvati
8. Durgā
9. Kātyāyani
10. Mahādevi
11. Caṇḍaghaṇṭā
12. Mahāvidyā
13. Mahātapā
14. Sāvitri
15. Brahmavādini
16. Bhadrakāli
17. Viśālākṣi
18. Rudrāṇi
19. Krisnapiṅgalā
20. Agnijñātā
21. Rudramukhi
22. Kālarātri
23. Tapaswini
24. Meghāswanā
25. Sahasrākṣi
26. Viṣṇumāyā
27. Jalodari
28. Mahodori
29. Mūktakeśi
30. Ghorarūpā
31. Mahābalā
32. Srūti
33. Smrūti
34. Dhrūti
35. Tūṣṭi
36. Pūṣṭi
37. Medhā
38. Vidyā
39. Lakṣmi
40. Saraswati
41. Aparnā
42. Ambikā
43. Yogini
44. Dākini
45. Sākini
46. Hārini
47. Hākini
48. Lākini
49. Tridaswari
50. Mahāṣaṣṭhi
51. Sarvamaṅgalā
52. Lajjā
53. Kousiki
54. Brahmāṇi
55. Māheśwari
56. Kaumāri
57. Vaiśṇavi

58. Aindri
59. Nārasiṁhi
60. Vārāhi
61. Cāmuṇḍā
62. Śivadanti
63. Viṣṇūpriyā

4. LIST OF YOGINIS ACCORDING TO CHAUNSAṬHA YOGINI NĀMĀVALI[46]

(a)

1. Divyā Yogini
2. Mahā Yogini
3. Siddha Yogini
4. Yugeśwari
5. Pretākṣi
6. Dākini
7. Kāli
8. Kālarātri
9. Niśāchari
10. Kliṅkāri
11. Siddhi Vaitāli
12. Hriṅkāri
13. Bhūtadāmā
14. Ūrdhvakeśi
15. Virūpākesi
16. Raktākesi
17. Narabhajani
18. (not available)
19. Virabhadrākshi
20. Dhrūmākshi
21. Kalahapriyā
22. Rākṣasi
23. Ghora Raktākṣi
24. Viraktākṣi
25. Bhayaṅkari
26. Viri
27. Kumāri
28. Caṇḍikā
29. Virāhi
30. Mūṇḍadhāriṇi
31. Bhairavi
32. Vajraṇi
33. Krodhāyē
34. Durmukhi
35. Pretavāhani
36. Kaṇṭaki
37. Lamboṣṭhi
38. Mālini
39. Mantra Yogini
40. Kālākṣi
41. Mohini
42. Chakri
43. Kaṅkāli
44. Bhubaneśvari
45. Kuṇḍali
46. Mālini
47. Lakṣmi
48. Dhandaduri
49. Karāli
50. Kauśiki
51. Bhadrāṇi
52. Vyāghraṇi
53. Yakṣayai
54. Yakṣaṇi
55. Kumāri
56. Yantravāhini
57. Visāli
58. Kāmākṣhi
59. Vishahārini
60. Dvijāti
61. Vikati
62. Dhorāyai
63. Kapāli
64. Viśālaṅguli.

(b)

1. Kāli
2. Karāli
3. Iśwari
4. Susāmālā
5. Divyogoī
6. Māhāyogi
7. Vāruṇi
8. Brāhmāṇi
9. Ambikā
10. Durgā
11. Jayā
12. Vijayā
13. Dhumāvati
14. Kāmeśvari
15. Chāmuṇḍā
16. Mahākāli
17. Chitraṇi
18. Vāruṇi
19. Kurukullā
20. Kapilā
21. Rohiṇi
22. Sumaṅgalā
23. Vārāhi
24. Raktākṣi
25. Vaināyiki
26. Yamaghaṇṭā
27. Vaiśvānari
28. Pretanāśā
29. Hemakānṭā
30. Niranjani
31. Saṅkhanī
32. Padmani
33. Chadrāvati
34. Nāharasiṁhi
35. Chaṇḍi
36. Sautilā
37. Saraswati
38. Harasiddhi
39. Vaiśvani
40. Iśāni
41. Lalitā
42. Gauri
43. Sūryaputri
44. Prmabhagani
45. Vanadevi
46. Nārāyaṇi
47. Bhairavi
48. Bhadrābati
49. Agnihotri
50. Kātyāyani
51. Jvālāmukhi
54. Bhadrakāli
52. Kāmākshi
53. Kapālini
55. Śreshṭhini
56. Kālarātri
57. Yugeśvari
58. Siddhi
59. Kumāri
60. Śaṅkari
61. Indrāṇi
62. Hṛiṅkāli
63. Mahāvidyā
64. Cakreśvari

(c)

1. Brahmāṇi
2. Kumāri
3. Saṅkari
4. Rudrāṇi
5. Kiṅkāli
6. Karāli
7. Kāli
8. Mahākāli
9. Cāmuṇḍā
10. Jvālāmukhi
11. Kāmākṣā
12. Vārāhi
13. Bhadrakāli
14. Durgā
15. Ambikā
16. Lalitā
17. Goravi
18. Sumaṅgalā
19. Rohiṇi
20. Kapilā
21. Sūlakarā
22. Kūḍalini
23. Tripurā
24. Kurakulyā
25. Bhairavi
26. Champāvati
27. Nārasiṁhi
28. Nirañjanā
29. Hemavati
30. Pretāsanā
31. Iśvari
32. Veśāṁnari
33. Vināyaki
34. Yamaghaṇṭā
35. Saraswati
36. Totilā
37. Veṁsanavi
38. Vaṁdi
39. Saṁśani
40. Padamani
41. Chitrāṇi
42. Vāruṇi
43. Jamabhagini
44. Sūryaputri
45. Susitalā
46. Kṛiṣṇavārāhi
47. Raktākṣi
48. Kālarātri
49. Akāsi
50. Śreṣṭhani
51. Jayā
52. Vijayā
53. Imavati
54. Vāgeśwari
55, Kātyāyani
56. Agnihotri
57. Cakreśvari
58. Mahāvidyā
59. Iśāni
60. Bhavāni
61. Bhubaneśwari
62. Cakreśvari
63. Moharātri (Mahārātri)
64. Thi (Dhi) Devi.

5. According to Chaṇḍipurāṇa [47] or Chaṇḍi Yudha by Saralādāsa the number of yoginis are as follows.

Name	*Vehicle*	*Weapon*
1. Chāyā		
2. Māyā		
3. Nārāyaṇi	Garuḍa	
4. Brahmāyaṇi		
5. Bhairavi		
6. Maheśvari	Sampati	
7. Rudrāyaṇi	Bull	
8. Indrāyaṇi	Elephant	
9. Bāseli		
10. Tripurā		
11. Ugratārā	Cat	
12. Charchikā	Deadbody	
13. Tārini		
14. Ambikā		
15. Kuthāri		
16. Bhāgavati		
17. Nilā		
18. Kamalā		
19. Sānti		
20. Kānti	Goat	
21. Ghaṭābari	Lion	

Name	Vehicle	Weapon
22. Chāmuṇḍā	Wolf	Khapara & Kathanda
23. Charchikā	Deadbody	
24. Mādhavi		
25. Chāchakeśvari		
26. Ānandā		
27. Sadānandā		
28. Rupā		
29. Vārāhi	She buffalo	
30. Nāgari		
31. Khechari		
32. Bhuchari		
33. Betāli	Goose	
34. Kaliñjari		
35. Saṅkhi		
36. Rudrakāli		
37. Kālarātri	Beer	
38. Kaṅkāli	Peacock	
39. Bukuchāi		
40. Bāli		
41. Dohiṇi		
42. Dwariṇi		
43. Sohaṇi		
44. Vārāhi		
45. Botalāi		
46. Anuchayā		
47. Kucamukhi		
48. Samehā		
49. Ullukā		
50. Samasilā		
51. Muḍā		
52. Dakhinai		
53. Gopāli		
54. Mohini		
55. Vikarāli	Jackal	
56. Kamaśreṇi		
57. Kapāli		
58. Trailokyavyāpini		
59. Trilocanā		
60. Nimai		
61. Dakeśwari	Cat	
62. Kamalāi		
63. Uttarāyaṇi		
64. Ramāyaṇi		

LIST ACCORDING TO DURGĀPŪJĀ (A PALM LEAF MANUSCRIPT)

1. Brahmāṇi[48]
2. Indrāṇi
3. Kumāri
4. Bhairavi
5. Durgā
6. Nārasiṁhi
7. Kālikā
8. Cāmuṇḍā
9. Śiva Dūti
10. Vārāhi
11. Kauśiki
12. Māheśvari
13. Śānkari
14. Jayanti
15. Sarvamaṅgalā

16. Kāli
17. Karāliṇi
18. Medhā
19. Śivā
20. Śākambari
21. Vāmā
22. Sāntā
23. Vasari
24. Rudri
25. Rudrāni
26. Ambikā
27. Kṣama
28. Dhātri
29. Svāhā
30. Svadhā
31. Mahodari
32. Ghorarupā
33. Mahākali
34. Bhadrakāli
35. Kapālini
36. Kṣeṁakari
37. Ugracaṇḍi
38. Caṇḍogrā
39. Caṇḍanāyikā
40. Caṇḍā
41. Caṇḍabati
42. Caṇḍi
43. Mahāmāyā
44. Priyaṅkari
45. Balabikramaṇi
46. Balapramāthini
47. Madanonmathini
48. Sarvabhūtamānani
49. Umā
50. Ghorā
51. Mahānidrā
52. Vijayā
53. Jayā
54. Śailaputri
55. Caniḍkā
56. Caṇdaghaṇṭā
57. Ghāsini
58. Kruṣnāṇdi
59. Sakalamudrā
60. Kātyāyani
61. Kalarātri
62. Mahāgauri
63. Caṇḍikā
64. Gauri

6. LIST OF YOGINIS ACCORDING TO BRIHA NILA TANTRA[49]

1. Brahmāṇi
2. Caṇḍikā
3. Raudri
4. Gauri
5. Indrāṇi
6. Kaumāri
7. Vaiṣṇavi
8. Durgā
9. Nārasimhi
10. Kālikā
11. Cāmuṇḍā
12. Śivadūti
13. Vārahi
14. Kausiki
15. Māheśwari
16. Śaṅkari
17. Jayanti
18. Sarvamaṅgalā
19. Kāli
20. Kāpālini
21. Medhā
22. Śivā
23. Śākambśari
24. Bhimā
25. Sāntā
26. Bramāri
27. Rudrāṇi
28. Ambikā
29. Kṣemā
30. Dhātri
31. Swāhā
32. Swadhāparṇā
33. Mahodari
34. Ghora Rupā
35. Mahākāli
36. Bhadrakāli
37. Bhayaṅkari
38. Kṣemaṅkari
39. Ūgracaṇḍā
40. Caṇḍagrā
41. Caṇḍanāyikā
42. Caṇḍā
43. Caṇḍābati
44. Caṇḍi
45. Mahāpriyaṇkari
46. Balavikārini
47. Balapramathini
48. Madanonmathini
49. Sarvabhūtasyadamaṇi
50. Umā
51. Tārā
52. Mahānidrā
53. Vijayā
54. Jayā
55. Śailaputrodhyā

Alongwith these lists from various texts enumerated above the inscribed yoginis and other Śākta tāntric images at Bherāghāt[50] may be added for comparative analysis.

1. Ajitā
2. Chatra Saṁvarā
3. Caṇḍikā
4. Mānadā
5. Kāmadā
6. Brahmāṇi
7. Māheśvari
8. Taṅkāri
9. Tāpani
10. Haṃsā
11. Raṇājirā
12. ………………

13. Haṁsini
14. ....
15. Iśvari
16. Sthāṇvi
17. Indrajāli
18. ....
19. ....
20. Thākini
21. Phaṇendri
22. ....
23. Uttālā
24. Laṁpaṭā
25. Jābā
26. Ritsamādā
27. Gāndhāri
28. Jāhnavi
29. Dākiṇi
30. Bandhani
31. Darpahāri
32. Vaiṣṇavi
33. Rangiṇi
34. Rupini
35. Śākini
36. Ghantāli
37. Dhaddhari
38. ....
39. Janghini
40. Bhisaṇi
41. Satunu Saṁvarā
42. Gahani
43. ....
44. Deddari[51]
45. Vārāhi
46. Nalini
47. ....
48. Nadini
49. Indrāṇi
50. Eruri
51. Sandini
52. Enigini
53. Teraniva
54. Teranta
55. Pārvati
56. Vāyuveṇā
57. Abheravardhani
58. ....
59. Sarvatomukhī
60. Maṅdodari
61. Khemukhi
62. Jāmbari
63. Audārā
64. ....
65. Sthiraccittā
66. Yamunā
67. ....
68. Bibhatsā
69. Siṁhānanā
70. Niladambarā
71. ....
72. Antakāri
73. ....
74. Piṅgalā
75. Akkhalā
76. Kṣatradharmiṇi
77. Virendri
78. ....
79. Riḍhālidevi.

Another list of yoginis enumerated as many as sixtynine is grouped into eight categories.[51a] The names of sixteen Yoginis in the first group are.

1. Kāmākarṣaṇikā,
2. Budhyākarṣaṇikā
3. Ahaṁkāra-karṣaṇikā,
4. Sarvakarṣaṇikā
5. Sparśakarṣaṇikā
6. Nityarūpakarṣaṇikā
7. Rasakarṣaṇikā
8. Gandhakarṣaṇikā
9. Chiṭṭakarṣṇikā
10. Nityadhariyakarṣaṇikā,
11. Smṛtyākarṣaṇikā
12. Nityānāmakarṣaṇikā
13. Vijākarṣaṇikā
14. Nityācatmakarṣaṇikā
15. Amṛtakarṣaṇikā
16. Nityaśarirakarṣiṇika

Yoginis in this group known as Gupta Yoginis are four-headed, three-eyed, red in complexion with crescent moon over their diadem. They are benevolent in nature exhibiting smile in the face. The *āyudhas* in their four hands are, a bow (cāpa), the arrows (bāṇa) the shield (carma) and the sword.

The next group known as Guptatara yoginis are eight in number and are red in complexion. They are :—

1. Anaṅga Sumanā
2. Anaṅga Mekhalā
3. Anaṅga Madanā
4. Anaṅga Madanāturā
5. Anaṅga Rekhā
6. Anaṅga Vegā
7. Anaṅga aṇkuśā
8. Anaṅga Mālini.

They hold in their four hands, a bow of sugarcane (Ikṣucāpa), the arrows of flower (Puṣpasara), Puṣpakanduka and the lotus-flower (Utpala).

Yoginis in the third group are known as Sampradāya Yoginis. Sarvasaṅchobhiṇi is the primordial deity of the group and is originated from the ashes of Kāma and is red in complexion. Her four hands hold a firebow (vāhinicāpa), a fire arrow (vāhinibāṇa), a fire-sword (vāhinirūpamasi), and fire-disc. (vāhinicakra). Under her leadership there are another eleven rare yoginis who in complexion, nature and emblems follow their leader.

1. Sarvavidrāvaṇi
2. Sarvākarṣaṇikā
3. Sarvasammohini
4. Sarvastambhanikā
5. Sarvajibhranikā
6. Sarvasaṁkari
7. Sarvaranjanikā
8. Sarvārthasādhikā
9. Sarvasaṁpataprapūriṇi
10. Sarvamantramayi
11. Sarvadvandaśaṅkari

The next group known as Kūlatirṇa yoginis contains ten names who represent different qualities of divine power. They are 1. Sarvasiddhipradā, 2. Sarvasaṁpatpradā, 3. Sarvapriyaṅkari, 4. Sarvamaṅgalakāriṇi 5. Sarvakāmapradā, 6. Sarvadukhavināśini, 7. Sarvamṛtupraśamaṇi, 8. Sarvavighnanivāriṇi, 9. Sarvāṅgasūndari, 10. Sarvasaubhāgyadāyini.

These yoginis are white in complexion, benevolent in nature but fierce in appearance. Ten yoginis in the fifth category known as Nigarbha yoginis with their āyudhas in four hands (thunderbolt, spear, tomara and disc.) are—

1. Sarvajñā,
2. Sarvaśakti
3. Sarva-aiśvaryapradāyini
4. Sarvajñānamayi,
5. Sarvavyādhivināśini
6. Sarvadhārāsvarūpā
7. Sarvapāpaharā
8. Sarvānandamayi
9. Sarvarakṣāsvarūpiṇi
10. Sarvapsitāpradā.

Yoginis in the sixth group belonging to Rahasya yoginis, two-handed showing in their hands viṇā and pustak, red in complexion like Aśoka flower are noted as :

1. Vāsini
2. Kameśi
3. Modani
4. Vimalā
5. Aruṇā
6. Jayani
7. Sarveśi
8. Kaulini.

There is no mention of the yogini in the seventh group.

The eighth group known as Atirahasya yoginis, three in number are eight-handed showing bow (cāpa), an arrow (bāṇa), a cup (pānapātra), a citras (mātuliṅga), a kind of sword (kṛpāṇa), the phalaka, the snake-noose (nāga pāśa) and a bell (ghaṇṭa). They are :

1. Kāmeśi, 2. Vajreśi 3. Bhagamālini.

We have as many as eleven lists of yoginis including that of Bherāghāt, and these pose a baffling problem. Each of the lists differs from the other except for a few names of mātrikas. This problem confronted by the scholars may be due to a lack of texts including specific iconographic features. It is strange that no study has successfully traced iconography of sixty-four yoginis.

The lists of yoginis given above do not consistently conform to the number sixty-four. Out of these lists, we have sixty-four yoginis in four lists only, that too with different nomenclature. Hence we are at a loss to arrive at a conclusion which list is correct one based on the traditional iconography. Mr. Karambelkar[52] is of the view that seven or eight yoginis are considered principal ones, known as mother goddesses, and that their number at times is raised to sixty-four but when we analyse these lists of yoginis his view does not appear to be plausible. While the list of Kālikā Puraṇā and Bṛihad Nandikeśvara Purāṇa each contain seven mātrikas, the Skanda Purāṇa notes of only one mother goddess of the traditional list (Vārāhi). Three lists of Chaunsaṭha yoginis are noted by Dr. Agrawala.[53] One contains two mātrikas, Kumāri and Vārāhi; the others are all the same and the last one contains six names of mātrikas leaving out Vaiṣṇavi. Some names of Dasa Mahāvidyā inserted in the lists of Agrawala reveal that these yogini *nāmāvalis* were perhaps of late coinage and had some link with Dasa-Mahāvidyā, (ten manifestions) of Devi. The different names of yoginis in different lists collected from different parts of India may be explained by the suggestion that local divinities have been incorporated among the yoginis. In this connection the remark of Charles Fabri is relevant. "Any connection with the mothers must have been the past history and there has been, as I venture to conjecture, a wholesale identification with, and elevation to divine rank, of small local godlings, perhaps in the same way as popular belief in local yakṣis entered rapidly into Buddhism. These little local godlings, of which you do not hear much in your learned pandits' elevated dissertations, were far nearer to the heart of the simple people than the great gods of the sacred books; just as you hear little in your books on Indian Art about the thousands of the small clay figurines of elephants and horses (Thakurani, Mataghoras) that can be found under trees throughout the length and breadth of India. They are far more the true religion of the Hindusthan Advaita Vedānta."[54]

With these lists appended in various texts we concentrate our discussion on the extant images found in the sixty-four yogini temples at Hirāpur, Ranipur Jharial and Bherāghāt.

HIRĀPUR

The sixty-four yogini temple at Hirāpur contains the images of sixty-four yoginis, Nava Kātyāyanis, Bhairava and other figures. Except for the figures of Bhairavas others are in standing posture carved out of chlorite stone. A short description of the images alongwith identification of some in a

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clockwise manner beginning from the left side of the passage as one enters in, is appended below. The description is based on the paper of Sri K.N. Mohapatra "A note on the Hypaetheral temple of sixty four yoginis at Hirapur"[55] and on my own observation.

1. A four-handed yogini (1′.8″ × 11″) standing on a dead body is well-decorated with anklets, girdle, necklace, armlets and ear ornaments. The hands are broken. The coiffure of her hair is seen over the head. The corpse is lying straight on his back resting his head on right hand.

2. A two-armed image (1′.7″ × 9″) on a corpse is ornamented like the first one. The hands are broken: hence it is difficult to know the *āyudha* she had originally. A knot of her hair is seen to the left side of her head. The position of the corpse is similar to the figure No. 1.

3. A two-armed image (1′.8″ × 10″) is standing on a full-blown lotus which is rested on the back of an elephant. She holds a skull cup in her left hand at her mouth, while the left hand is broken. The braid of her hair is to the right side of her head. The ornamentation is similar to the first figure.

4. A four-armed figure (1.′10″ × 1′) standing in *ardhaparyaṅka* on a tortoise holds a skull cup in her upper right hand while three other hands are broken. She is adorned with ornaments similar to the figure one. Her conical knotted hair forms a halo in three tiers. She may be identified as Yamunā.

5. A figure with two arms (1′.8″ × 11″) stands on a double-petalled and full-blown lotus. In her ornamentation we find armlet formed of Nāgas. The braid of hair is although over her head, is different in style to that of number one.

6. A two-handed figure (1′.8″ × 10″) ornamented in similar pattern looks tangentially. Her hair-do is to the left of her head. The lines of waves (*tarangamala*) on which the deity is standing indicate her association with water. She may be identified as a river goddess, possibly Narmadā.

7. A beautiful four-handed figure (1′.8″ × 11″) standing on the back of an alligator wears ornaments like the first figure. The braid of her hair is decorated with ornaments. All her hands are broken. She is identified as Gauri.

8. Two-handed image (1′.10″ × 11″) stands on an elephant in a fierce pose. Her hands and legs are broken. Her tuft of hair is over her head. She is identified as Indrāṇi.

9. A four-armed figure of Vārāhi holding a skull cup in her upper left hand and a bow in her lower left hand (the other two hands are broken), standing on the back of a buffalo. She wears a beautiful kirīṭa mukuṭa alongwith other ornaments like the first figure.

10. This is a terrific figure (1′.8″ × 9″) standing on the hood of a ferocious serpent with a high hairdo. She wears a garland of skulls and holds a khaḍga in her right hand (left hand broken). This image approximates Rāṇajirā of Bherāghāt list.

11. This is a figure (1′.10″ × 11″) with monkey face associated with her vāhana camel. She is decked with ornaments similar to that of No. 1. Her hair-do is elevated.

12. This image (1′.7″ × 10″) associated with a Garuḍa in the pedestal is identified as Vaiṣṇavi. The curling hair in the form of waves, smiling face, graceful ornaments make the image extremely handsome. Her hands are broken. Her hair-do is like that of No. 4.

13. A graceful figure (1′.10″ × 1′) with two hands, stands on a boar. She may be one of Pañca Vārāhi. Her braid of hair is over her head similar to No. 7. Her hands are broken.

14. A figure (1′.8″ × 11″) with broken hands stands on a stringed drum. Her hair bun rises over her head and decked with ornaments like that of No. 1. Her garment hangs to the knee joint.

15. This image (1′10″ × 11″) stands on a human figure, who is holding a lotus stem in his right hand while placing the left hand on the pedestal and looking tangentially towards the deity. Her ornamentation is similar to that of No. 1. On the basis of descriptions in the Caṇḍi Purāṇa of Saralā Dās. She may be identified as Carcikā.

16. The four-handed image (1′.11″ × 1′) stands on the back of a fish. She wears a garland of skulls and ornaments like others. Her hands are broken. Her hair-do looks like rising flames.

17. The image standing on a severed human head (1′.8″ × 10″) holds a bow in her left hand (other

hands broken). She has a braid of hair over her head with the ornaments like those of No. 1.

18. A terrific figure (1′.8″×10″) with a buffalo and dishevelled hair over her head like No. 4 stands on a cave like structure with a door in the middle. She may be identified as Vindhyavāsini.

19. This figure stands on a big frog with her braid of hair to the right of her head and wears ornaments like No. 1. Her hands are all broken.

20. This is a typical figure (1′.10″×11″) standing in *ardhaparyaṅkāsana* on a lion and lifting with her two hands an elephant skin over her head. Her hair is dishevelled and she wears ornaments like No. 1. She may be identified as Ghatābarā in the light of discussion made in the Caṇḍi Purāṇa. She approximates Nandini of Bherāghāt list.

21. This figure (1′.8″×10″) standing on the back of a jackal with her right leg held tightly on her left thigh is graceful in appearance. Her braid of hair is to the right side. She may be identified as Kakarāli. This image is considered by Charles Fabri,[56] as a lovely girl in seductive pose. She might be nothing but a dancing girl just fastening her anklet bells.

22. A four-handed image (1′.10″×11″) stands on the back of a big serpent. She has a moustache which is being trimed by her upper left hand. (other hands broken). A stringed musical instrument stretches from the left shoulder to her right thigh. Her braid of hair over her head looks like rising flames.

23. This is a two-handed figure (1′.8″×10″) having a braid of hair over her head. Lines of waves indicate that she is a river goddess. She may tentatively be identified as Saraswati.

24. The image is two-armed 1′.8″×10″). On account of association of 7 ratna kalaśas, she is identified with Kauveri. She wears kirīṭa-mukuṭa over her head, with her hair to the right. Her hands are broken.

25. The image (1′.8″×10″) is two-armed and bearfaced with a ḍamarū in her right hand (left hand broken). A lotus creeper is seen in the pedestal. Her hair is raised upwards forming a round halo. She may be identified with Bhallukā.

26. A four-armed figure with the face of a lion and with raised curling hair like the mane of a lion over her head is fierce in appearance. She holds in her lower two hands, pots (upper two hands broken). The pedestal is decked with five flowers with leaves. She may be identified with Nārasiṁhi.

27. This is a two-armed beautiful figure (1′.8″×10″) with the hair-do to the right of her head. She stands on a lotus bud, associated with leaves on both sides.

28. A fierce figure (1′.9″×10″) with two arms (broken) protruding face, and knotted matted hair over her head.

29. This two-armed figure is (1′.9″ x 10″) standing on a full-blown lotus. She wears a garland of snakes and holds a vajra in her right hand and a shield in the left. Her braid of hair is to the right of her head.

30. A graceful figure (1.′9″×10″) with two hands (broken) standing on the back of a peacock, ornamented with akṣayamālā on the arm, necklace, girdle, anklets etc. may be identified as Kaumāri.

31. This is a graceful image (2′.2″×11″) with ten hands (broken), bigger than other images in the pīṭha, standing on a full-blown lotus. The image is set in a square pedestal, wearing kirīṭa and mukuṭa over her head, and a necklace, girdle, anklets and armlets. She is worshipped as Mahāmāyā. The temple is known as Mahāmāyā temple and the tank to the south of the monument as Mahāmāyā tank. The iconographic features of Mahāmāyā, the presiding deity of 64 yoginis at Hirāpur, conform to the description in Kālikā Purāṇa. The story runs that when the earth submerged in water Yoganidrā Mahāmāyā thought of a way to solidify the earth as it was liquid in form which could not help in creation nor could bear the animal and herbal kingdom. Jaganmātā Mahāmāyā with this idea in mind came to Jagatapati Jagannāth who was in deep sleep. She then entered her little finger of her left hand into the ear of Viṣṇu and from the matter she brought out, was born a demon named Madhu. She then entered the little finger of her right hand in the right ear of Viṣṇu and in the same way was born from the matter the powerful demon Kaiṭabha. Since the first demon after his birth requested Devi for honey (madhu) he was named as Madhu and other was

named as Kaiṭabha because of his appearance like a insect (kīta) in the hands of Mahāmāyā. The goddess then directed them to carry on war against Viṣṇu, so that they would be killed by Him. Viṣṇu would be able to kill them only when they would request Him. Having been enchanted by the power of the demon they moved again on the body of Viṣṇu and came across Brahmā in His naval and threatened him to kill him, saying that He could be saved if he could awake Viṣṇu. Brahmā in trouble, prayed to Mahāmāyā who appeared to awake Nārāyaṇa Viṣṇu who in order to save the situation fought against these two demons but failed to overpower them. The snake Ananta could not bear the weight of three heroes. At this critical juncture, Brahmā created a stone surface on which Madhu, Kaiṭabha, and Viṣṇu continued their battle. After a long and continued war they were exhausted. Madhu and Kaiṭabha told Viṣṇu that they were very much pleased to see the war strategy of Viṣṇu and requested Him to ask for a boon. Viṣṇu in turn immediately asked for a boon that they would be killed by Him. They instantly agreed on condition that they would be killed only on land. Jagadhātri Mahāmāyā took the shape of a mountain. Viṣṇu in the form of Varāha raised the mountain on which Madhu and Kaiṭava were killed.

32. A fierce figure (1′.6″×10″) (Her hands broken) with curling hair raised upward is associated with a figure of an archer in the pedestal. The small figure in the pedestal reminds us of the image of Ūṣā and Pratyūṣā on Sūrya images.

33. The two-armed image (1′.9″×10″) stands on a crab, with hair knot to the left of her head. She is adorned with ornaments like other figures. The association of a crab indicates that she is a river or water goddess.

34. A snake like image (1′.9″×11″) with four arms (broken). This looks terrifying.

35. A two-armed figure (1′.8″×10″) wearing kirīṭa and mukuṭa on her head and various ornaments stands on a four-legged cot. All of her hands are broken.

36. This is a terrifying figure with dishevelled hair standing on a horned-animal resembling a buffalo or antelope. Two of her hands are broken, but a portion of a hand is kept tight on her breast indicating her intense fierceness. Her hair-do looks like a chatra. The image resembles Uṭṭālā in Bherāghāt shrine.

37. The two-handed image holding in her right hand a sword (left hand broken), adorned with various ornaments stands on a parrot. She may be identified as Rudrakāli. The story in regard to origin of Rudrakāli runs as follows. Agni from whose seed, Kārttikeya was born through seven mothers is described as bearded, four-armed, four-tusked, three-eyed, riding a chariot drawn by four parrots, driven by the wind and holding flames, trident and rosary in his hands. Rudrā, one of the seven mothers of Kārttikeya may have the attributes and vāhana of Agni. This reminds us of the association of a parrot with Rudrā. The khaḍga in one of the hands of the image brings to mind the grim aspect of Kāli. Hence she may be Rudra-Kāli. Charles Fabri[57] on the basis of the Bherāghāt list equates this yogini with Abheravādini.

38. An elephant-faced figure (1′.9″×9″) with two arms standing on an ass. She has matted hair forming a halo. On account of her association with ass, she may be identified with Mātangi. According to Caṇḍi Purāṇa of Saralādās she may be Hastimukhā or Śitalā. In South India Jyeṣthā may be akin to her and in North India Śitalā.[58]

39. A beautiful figure (1′.9″×11″) holding a bow in her left hand and the bow string in the right, adorned with a braid of hair to the right of her head and various ornaments, stands on the back of a rat.

40. A four-handed figure (1′.10″×11″) wearing kirīṭa mukuṭa in her head and various ornaments in her body, raising her upper two hands (lower two hands broken) stands on a scorpion. She may be identified with Abhayā.

41. A two-armed image (1′.9″×10″) with her hair-do to the right of her head and various ornaments on her body, stands on the back of a bull. The association of bull identifies the image with Māheśvari.

42. This figure (1′.10″×11″) with four arms, two lower hands leaning against the knee joints, the upper right hand holding a ḍamarū, (upper left hand broken) with her braid of hair to the right of her head, stands on two wheels. Below the wheels is a mongoose.

43. The image (1′.8″×11″) with two arms (broken) is associated with a cock in the pedestal and is ornamented lavishly having her hair bun to the right of her head.

44. This figure (1'.9"×10") has two arms (broken), curling hair and various ornaments. She stands on the back of a lion. She may be identified with Ghaṭābari.

45. This image (1'.10"×1') with four hands, (broken) a beautiful hair-do tied with a flower garland, wearing mukuṭa and other ornaments, stands on a pot. There is a flower vase to the left side of the image.

46. This is a two-handed figure (1'.8"×13") holding a triśūla in her right hand (left hand broken) standing on a prostrate human body. She wears kirīṭa and mukuṭa on her head and a third eye on her forehead. This yogini figure has been identified with Kāli and the male figure with Śiva.

47. A beautiful figure (1'.10" x 11") with four hands, wearing kirīṭa mukuṭa and various ornaments, stands on a full-bloomed flower, flanked by two other flowers. She holds a nāgapāśa in her upper left hand and the lower left is in ābhaymudrā. (while the two right hands are broken).

48. A graceful figure (1'.9"×10") with two hands, the right one holding a sword and the left one placed on a wine vessel, has a tiārā on her head and other ornaments over her body. Her beautiful hair bun is to the right of her head.

49. This yogini (1'.10"×11") (with her hands broken) is ornamented like No. 41, except that her braid of hair falls to the left of her head. In the pedestal is seen a conch-shell with its two legs.

50. A beautiful figure (1'.7"×11") with three faces and four arms (broken) wearing kirīṭa mukuṭa, sacred thread, and other ornaments on the body, is identified as Brahmāṇi. The pedestal is broken but a decorative lion is seen at the corner with a garland of beads in its mouth.

51. This is a typical figure (10"×11") with a terrible face, two long raised ears and knotted hair hanging on both sides of her head. She stands on a wooden pedestal having eight legs. Her face resembles the face of a boar. She may be identified with Jvālāmukhi.

52. A yogini (1'.8"×11") standing on the back of a ram wearing various ornaments holds a sword in her right hand while the left hand is broken. Due to depiction of flames at her back she is identified as Āgneyi.

53. A deity (1'.10"×10") with her vehicle, a parrot, is seen holding something in her left hand (right hand broken). The cognizance of parrot reminds us of her association with Agni. Hence she may be identified with Agnihotri.

54. A well-ornamented, two-armed deity (1".10×10") in graceful pose is seen standing on a four-legged pedestal. Her hair bun is to the left of her head.

55. This graceful image (1'.1"×10") with (hands and major part of her face broken) is associated with a cow. Her hair-do looks like the hood of a snake.

56. This is a terrifying figure (1'.9×11"), grim in appearance, showing the skeleton in detail with drooping breast, a contracted abdomen and sunken eyes, matted hair over her head tied with a snake and she is wearing a garland of skulls, holding a fierce lion over her head in her two upper hands, a sword in her lower right hand and a severed human head in her lower left. She is associated with mask deer. She resembles Cāmuṇḍā.

57. A figure (1'.9"×11") (two hands broken) well-ornamented, with the braid of hair over her head stands on the back of a horned deer. She is identified with Māruti.

58. A four-handed image (1'.9"×11") standing on the back of a Makara, decked with various types of ornaments, holding a full-blown lotus in her upper right hands and a nāgapāśa in her lower left hand (other two hands broken) may be identified with Gaṅgā.

59. A graceful figure (1'.9"×10") holding a winnowing fan in both of her hands, stands on a duck. She may be identified with Tāriṇi.

60. A beautiful figure (1'.11"×1') with the hair bun to the left of her head, (two hands broken) stands on the back of a horse, associated with a kadamba tree at the background. This may be equated with Gāndhāri in Bherāghāt list.

The Caṇḍi maṇḍapa situated in the middle of circular enclosure contains 7 images, three of which are yoginis (one is lost).

61. The niche in the south-west corner of the maṇḍapa contained an image of yogini (which is lost).

62. The north-western niche contains a four-handed deity (1′.8″ × 10″) standing on the back of a female deer with her hair bun over her head resembling a bending lotus.

63. The north-eastern niche of the northern wall contains a four-handed yogini wearing kirīṭa-mukaṭa and various ornaments, holding a shield in her upper left hand and a bow in her lower left (two right hands broken) and riding on a galloping horse. On the basis of her cognizance, a galloping horse, she may be identified with Sūryaputri.

64. We find in the north-eastern niche of the northern wall, a two armed yogini image (1′.8″ × 10″) in dancing pose placing her left hand over the breast. Below a male deer is flanked by two vases depicting rising flower plants. The other male figures in the maṇḍapa are appended below.

1. A figure of Ajaikapāda Bhairava (2′. × 1′) with only one leg and four arms holding a khaḍga in his upper right hand, a shield in his upper left, lower left hand holding a weapon prepared out of the skeleton of a fish (lower right hand broken), wearing a garland of skulls, bracelets, armlets and bracelets of snakes, is seen standing on a full blown lotus. He is accompanied by two male attendants on both sides.

2. The eastern niche of the southern wall of maṇḍapa contains a ten-handed male figure seated on a double lotus, with his liṅgam raised upwards. He is associated with a dead body, which is pulled out by one of his left hands, while the two other left hands hold an akṣyamālā, and skull cup and a ḍamarū in his lower right hand. A female attendant holding a conch-shell in her right hand, and a skull cup in other is associated with the main deity. This image may be identified with Svachchanda Bhairava. According to traditional iconographic features this variety of Bhairava should have eighteen hands. Ten hands in the particular image indicate a local variation.

3. The western niche of the southern wall contains the similar figure of ten-armed Bhairava seated on a lotus with his liṅgam raised upwards. He presses his right leg over a prostrating figure and holds a ḍamarū in his upper most right hand and a flute in his lower right hand whereas his upper left hands hold a triśūla, set in a shield and an akṣyamālā. The pedestal also contains a female figure with a fierce face and dishevelled hair, holding a skull cup in her left hand. He may be identified as Caṇḍa Bhairava.

4. The north-eastern niche of the eastern wall contains a ten-armed figure of Bhairava with the iconographic features similar to No. 3.

The passage into the temple contains four figures, two of which are two armed. Each is fierce-looking, wearing garland of skulls and anklets of snakes with emaciated body, sunken belly, matted hair in fighting posture, with two male attendants. In addition, on the exterior there are two dvārapālas with terrific appearance (but greatly defaced).

The outer surface of the enclosure contains nine figures of Kātyāyani who are generally associated with yoginis. These figures are carved out in sand stone and are greatly defaced.

1. She is two armed (2′.9″ × 1′.7″) standing on a severed human head holding a sword in her right hand (left hand broken) having a hair bun to the right of her head and various ornaments on her body. She is associated with two male attendants in the posture of beating drum.

2. She is two-armed standing on a severed human head, holding a skull-cup in her left hand, wearing various ornaments. She is associated with a male attendant, who is holding an umbrella over her head, flanked by a dog and a jackal on either side of the severed head.

3. A two-armed figure (2′.11″ × 1′.6″) holding a knife in her right and a skull cup in her left hand with her braid of hair to the left of her head stands similarly on a severed human head. The pedestal is decorated with a female attendant, holding an umbrella over her head, a jackal and a dog on both sides of the severed head.

4. This figure has the same iconographic features as the others noted above, except that she has her hair-do to the right side, with akṣyamālā on her arms and a female feeding the dog.

5. This figure is similar to No. 2.

6. This figure is similar to No. 4 except that she is associated with a tree to her right and the female attendant holds over the head of the deity something looking like the crescent of the moon.

7. & 8. The seventh and the 8th figures are similar to No. 3.

9. This nude figure smallest of all, terrific in appearance, with dishevelled hair is standing on a severed human head and holding a sword in her right hand and a skull-cup in her left hand with a bow on her left shoulder associated with two jackals.

The pīṭha altogether contains 80 images out of which 63 are yoginis (one is missing), nine Kātyāyanis, four Bhairavas, two dvārapālas and two male figures. Out of the total sixty-three yogini-images, Mahāmāyā, the presiding deity of the Pīṭha, is ten-armed; nineteen are four-armed and fortythree are two-armed, indicating the predominance of two armed figures.

RANIPUR JHARIAL

The sixty-four yogini temple at Ranipur Jharial is on a rock resembling the back of a whale along-with several other temples of moderate size. The description of yogini images of this circular enclosure is based on J.D. Beglar's[59] note and my own observation.

1. A three-headed, two-armed dancing figure holding a trident.

2. Missing.

3. Missing.

4. A two-armed female, one hand at her naval in the attitude of Buddha, (other arm broken).

5. A lion-headed female, two-armed, trident in one and a cup in her left hand. She may be identified with Nārasiṁhi.

6. A stout, flabby female with breasts hanging down, holds a noose, and is in dancing pose. She may be identified with Yami.

7. A four-armed female (all hands broken).

8. }
9. } These three are missing.
10. }

11. A two-armed dancing figure, left hand on her knee, right hand broken.

12. A three-headed, four-armed figure holding the trident, the rosary, and an hour glass and fourth arm broken. She may be identified with Śiva-dūtī.

13. A skeleton figure.

14. A mix-armed figure with one pair of hands engaged in pulling wide her mouth with the remaining unbroken hands holding an hour drum, a sword, a cup and dancing on a prostrate male figure.

15. Only bottom half exists today; this image is bigger than the rest.

16. A lion-headed, four-armed dancing figure with one hand holds a lamp and with the other she is eating a frog.

17. A horse-headed, four-handed dancing female figure holding in her hands a club, an hour glass and a rosary (one hand broken).

18. A goat-headed dancing female figure holding in her hands a mace, and a trident.

19. A horse-headed, four-armed dancing figure.

20. A lion-headed, four-armed dancing figure with two hands at her breast (two hands broken).

21. A goat-headed, eight-handed dancing female figure, one hand at her naval, the rest of her unbroken hands hold a sword, a rosary, a mace and a vajra.

22. An elephant-headed, four-armed dancing figure holding in her one unbroken hand, a club.

23. A boar-headed, four-armed figure with two hands holding up her breasts and two others holding a club and a rosary. This resembles Erudi of Bherāghāt.

24. A cow-headed, four-armed female (all hands broken).

25. A four-armed dancing female figure with one hand on her knee and one on her breast and the other two hold a club and cup.

26. A four-armed female figure with two hands engaged in putting on her anklets, one holding a rosary and the other holding an object cannot be identified.

27. A bear-headed, four-armed female image (two hands broken) and the other two hands holding a rosary and a lotus.

28. A serpent-headed, four-armed figure, one hand on her knee, another at her breast, the other holds an arm dish or cup and a trident.

29. A two-armed female holding in her existing hand a trident.

30. A two-armed figure, holding a cup and a trident.

31. A two-armed figure, one hand holds a trident while the other is broken.

32. Missing.

33. A two-armed female figure holding a trident in one hand.

34. A two-armed female holding a trident and a cup.

35. }
36. } Similar to No. 34.
37. }

38. A four-armed female figure holding a trident, an hour glass, a cup (4th hand broken).

39. A two-armed female figure with a rosary and an hour glass in her hand.

40. Missing.

41. Missing.

42. A robust, two-handed female figure holding a trident in one hand while the other hand is broken.

43. A two-handed female figure, holding a sword in right hand and having a baby on her left. She may be one of the seven mothers.

44. A horse-headed four-armed female figure holding a trident, a pestle in two hands while the objects in two other hands are not recognizable.

45. A two-armed buffalo-headed female figure holding a trident and a noose.

46. A four-armed female figure with two hands joined over her head while two others joined near her naval.

47. An antelope-headed female figure with two arms, holding a sword in one hand.

48. A two-armed female figure with one hand on her knee and the other holding a trident.

49. A two-armed female figure with one hand on her knee, the other exhibiting some objects.

50. Missing.

51. A two-armed terrifying female figure. She is seen rubbing her teeth with the finger of one hand, the other holding a cup.

52. A two-armed female figure holding a cup in one hand and some other object in the other one.

53. A two-armed female figure holding a sword and a cup in her hands.

54. She is four-armed with one hand at her breast, holding something in one and the other holding a club (other two broken).

55. A four-armed figure holding a bow, an arrow, a bunch of flowers (4th one is broken).

56. A two-armed figure holding in her unbroken hand a pair of pincers.

57. She is two-armed holding a noose in one hand (the object holding with other hand is not recognizable).

58. Missing.

59. A two-armed female figure, holding a club and a cup in her hands.

60. A two-armed figure with one hand raised to her forehead while the other holding an almond shape hollow article.

61. A two-armed female figure holding a club and a stick in her hand.

62. A two-armed female with one hand holding a club.

63. Missing

64. Missing.

This list gives an account of sixty-four yogini images out of which 14 are altogether missing. The recent account gives a list of total 50 images in the niches.

The maṇḍapa in the middle of the circular enclosure contains three-headed and eight-armed figure of Bhairava alongwith the images of Gaṇeśa and Pārvati. Bhairava holds in two of his hands a snake and in others a cup, an hour glass, a rosary, a skull, a trident, and an unidentified thing. The circular enclosure had originally its entrance to the south which is now converted into a niche enshrining the figure No. 14 in the list which may be identified with Cāmuṇḍā.

The opening now seen to the east was a later addition.

For comparative analysis the abovementioned two yogini temples are referred to here.

Both the temples, circular in shape contain sixty-four niches each for sixty-four yoginis. The purpose behind the construction of the two temples at two places might be the same. Both have round walls, roughly the height of a tall man, no roof, and one entrance each with a rectangular maṇḍapa at the centre of the enclosure. Here ends the similarity. The shrine at Hirāpur has a passage containing four terrific figures, whereas this feature is absent at Ranipur Jharial. Kātyāyanis on the exterior of Hirāpur temple are absent at Ranipur Jharial. The yogini images at Ranipur Jharial are not provided with vāhanas, which are seen clearly associated with the images at Hirāpur. Although standing figures predominates at both places, most of them at Ranipur Jharial are in dancing posture. Besides the images are carved in sandstone, which through weather action have been greatly defaced; but at Hirāpur, the figures are made of fine-grand chlorite stone showing details of workmanship. So far the dimension of these pīṭhas are concerned, Hirāpur is smaller than Ranipur Jharial and Bherāghāt. In this context Charles Fabri remarks :

> "The Ranipur Jharial arena is far far larger than that at Hirapur, and completely lacks the enchanting mysterious secretive and intimate atmosphere of the fascinating shrine at Hirapur, a masterpiece from any point of view. That such an atmosphere is not purely an individual reaction but may be termed, as it were, a "built-in" element, purposely created, may be seen at once by any one visiting these two greatly differing shrines."[60]

BHERĀGHĀT

The circular cloister at Bherāghāt contains eighty-one images in total the account of which is given below. The description of the images is given in the order noted by Cunningham, [61] on the notings of R. D. Banerjee [62] and R. K. Sharma. [63]

1. Gaṇeśa

The inscription on the pedestal gives the name as Śri Gaṇeśa. This is four-armed in dancing pose. The figure has lost the head and all four hands.

2. Śri Chatrasamvarā

The image has lost her four hands, legs and the head. The lower part of the figure is seated in lalitāsana on a lotus. She is associated with her vāhana which looks like a horse [64] or deer. [65] The pedestal contains a female attendant and four kneeling figures two on each side.

3. Ajitā

She is a four-armed deity, seated on a lotus pedestal in lalitāsana flanked by a crouching lion, two female attendants, one on each side and three other figures. All the hands and the head of the deity are broken. The inscription of the pedestal has been deciphered as Śri Ajitā.

4. Caṇḍikā

The entire image is broken into three pieces, the upper and lower parts are only visible. The lower parts of the pedestal show a two armed, bearded male figure lying on his back associated with a group of *pretas* squatting on each side. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as Śri Caṇḍikā.

5. Mānandā or Ānandā

The image is seen seated cross legged on a lotus. Her all four hands and head are broken. The lotus throne contains two female attendants one on each side, two figures are female and other male with a Vīṇā each; two other figures seated on the ground with folded hands and the figures of garland bearing attendants. The gandharva couple is seen in the upper section of the pedestal. The inscription on the pedestal reads as Śri Ānandā or Śri Mānandā.

6. Kāmadā

The image is four-armed and is seated on a lotus in bhagāsana. All four arms are broken, the lower portion of the pedestal contains two male figures seated face to face with folding hands associated with, on each side, a four-handed female figure playing on a Vīṇā and in the recessed corner on each side a standing female figure with garlands. The inscription on the pedestal reads as Śri Kāmadā.

7. Brahmāṇi

All the hands, one of the faces and the breasts of the image are mutilated. She is seated in lalitāsana on a lotus throne. Below the lotus is seen a bird indentified as goose, moving to the right. On both the sides of the deity is a female standing with a garland. On the left in front of the figure, a kneeling figure is holding up a tray containing fruits or sweets. Another figure on the right side holds a fly whisk. There are two other figures in front of the kneeling ones. The image is labelled as Śri Brahmāṇi.

8. Māheśvari

The lower part of the image is seated on a lotus in lalitāsana. She is associated with her vāhana bull in couching pose with his head raised upward. Two female attendants one on each side, a bearded male with folded hands and in the recessed corner on the right a seated figure are shown. The deity wears a garland of skulls. The inscription on the pedestal reads Śri Māheśvari.

9. Taṅkāri

The six-handed and three-eyed goddess is seated on a lotus in lalitāsana associated with a lion to the left. The lion is flanked by a female on the right with a sword and a shield in her hands. To the left of this figure is seen a female with a kamaṇḍalu. The other figures in the pedestal are two garland-bearing attendants, one on each side, a kneeling figure with folded hands, a female holding a bow and arrow. The inscription on the pedestal is deciphered as Taṅkāri.

10. Jayani (identified as Tāpani by R.D. Banerjee)

Only the lower part of the image is seated on a lotus pedestal in lalitāsana. She is associated with a caprisoned horse proceeding to the right, two female attendants one on each side, and two other kneeling human figures. The inscription runs as Śri Tāpani.

11. Padmahaṁsā

Lower part of a broken female image is seated in padmāsana on a lotus throne. She is associated with a four-armed female figure seated on a lotus, a figure holding a vīṇā on each side of the lotus stalk, a kneeling female attendant on a recessed corner on each side and at the back, the garland-bearing female figures. The inscription on the pedestal runs as Śri Padmahaṁsā.

12. Raṇājirā

She is four-armed, three-eyed, seated in lalitāsana on a lotus throne. All four arms are broken. The lotus pedestal is decorated with a crouching elephant, a garland bearing female attendant on each side, a male on the left and a female on the right, two other seated figures on lotus brackets. On the basis of the inscription she is identified as Sri Raṇājirā.

13. Name Lost

14. Haṁsini or Haṁsimirā

The upper portion of the deity from her waist is lost. She is seated on the lalitāsana on a lotus throne, the bird haṁsa is seen moving to the right with its raised neck. The bird is flanked by a female with garland, a seated figure on each side. The mutilated inscription reads Śri Haṁsini.

15. Not inscribed

16. Īśwari

The goddess, mutilated above the waist, is seated on a lotus in lalitāsana. The lotus seat contains an emaciated bull, a mutilated garland bearing female attendant on both sides associated with two seated figures. The inscription on the pedestal reads Śri Īśwari.

17. Thāni

A four-handed (hands broken), three-eyed goddess, is seated on a square throne. Below the seat of the goddess is seen a six-peaked mountain. On both sides are seen the devotees with folded hands. The recessed corners are decorated with two figures one on each side, the inscription on the pedestal runs as Śri Thāni.

18. Indrajāli

The female deity (her four hands and the head broken) is seated on full-blown, double-petalled lotus in lalitāsana. Three skulls are attached to the Vanamālā worn by the deity. Below the lotus pedestal of the goddess is seen an elephant, a standing female attendant on each side with garland associated with a figure of *preta*. The inscription reads Śri Indrajāli.

19. Broken

20. Lost

21. Thākini

Similar to other figures noted above the image is four-armed (all arms broken), three-eyed and is seated in lalitāsana. The deity is well-decorated with various types of ornaments and is associated with a male and a female figure on the recessed corner on each side, a female dancing figure with a skull cup and a trident in her hand to the left, and another dancing female figure to the right. The pedestal of the goddess is supported on the back of an animal tentatively identified as camel. Inscription on the pedestal runs as Śri Thākini.

22. Dhanendri or Phaneṇdri[66]

The four-armed and three-eyed goddess is seated in lalitāsana on a lotus pedestal. All hands and the left foot are broken. There is a seven-hooded snake over her head, as well as a crown. Below the lotus pedestal there is a bearded male in a prostrate pose. On both the sides of this figure is seen a kneeling male associated with a female. The upper portion of the pedestal contains gandharva pairs associated with an additional female attendant. On the pedestal is the inscription, Śri Phanendri.

23. Lost

24. Uttālā

The image is lost above her waist. She is seated in lalitāsana. Below the lotus pedestal there is a rampant bull, a female attendant on each side, a four-armed female figure under each knee of the goddess, and one figure in each of the recessed corner. The inscription runs as Śri Uttālā.

25. Laṁpatā

The goddess is ten-handed (all hands and head are broken) and seated in lalitāsana. The cushion is placed on the back of a peculiar animal probably of a bird, with the beak of a bird but the body of a tortoise. The deity wears a garland of skull. Below her right knee is seen a bearded male with his face upward. Female attendant and a seated male with clasped hands are seen on both the sides. The inscription is deciphered as Śri Laṁpatā.

26. Uhā or Jahā[67]

The two-handed goddess is seated in lalitāsana with a ghaṭa or kalaśa up side down in her right hand (left hand and head broken). The pedestal contains garland bearing female attendants, one on each side, two male figures on the left, and a male and a female on the right. She is found on a cushion on the back of a peacock. The inscription reads Śri Jahā.

27. Stamada or Ritshamada[68]

Only the lower part of the deity below the waist is seen. She is seated in lalitāsana on a peculiar animal, the body of a boar, the head of a lion and the hands of a human being. The deity is associated with a standing female and two seated male attendants on each side. The inscription runs Śri Ritshamada.

28. Gāndhāri

The four-handed deity is seated as usual in lalitāsana. Her head and all hands are broken. The deity has two wings. The lotus seat is placed on the back of a caprisoned horse. The deity is associated with two female attendants on each side, one standing and the other seated with a vīṇā on each side. The inscription runs as Śri Gāndhāri.

29. Jāhnavi

The hands of the goddess and the face are broken while the lower right is in varadamudrā. She is seated as usual in lalitāsana on the back of a makara. She is associated with a female attendant on each side standing on a kneeling male to the right and on a female to the left. The inscription reads Śri Jāhnavi.

30. Dākini

Only the lower part of the goddess seated on a full-blown lotus in lalitāsana is visible. She had four hands, all broken. Below the lotus seat is seen a prostrate man. There is a standing figure of preta with a dagger on the left and another seated figure with a sword, in front of her. On the right are seen the figures of two other pretas. The inscription on the pedestal runs as Śri Dākini.

31. Bandhani

Only the lower part of the image is left. She is seated in padmāsana in the lotus. The pedestal is decorated with a garlanding female attendant, on each side, two kneeling male figures on the right. To the left of the lotus stalk are seen, one standing male and two seated males. There is a seated female figure on each side of the group in the recessed corner. The deity is labelled Śri Bandhani.

32. Darpahāri

The head and hands of the deity are missing. She is seated on the lotus throne in lalitāsana, on the back of a lion. She wears a garland of human skulls. She is associated with a female attendant on each side flanked by a kneeling female figure to the left and another seated. The inscription is labelled Śri Darpahāri.

33. Vaiṣṇavi

All the hands of the image are lost from the elbow, as is her face from the nose. She is on the lotus throne in lalitāsana. Below the lotus is seen a bearded male probably representing Garuḍa. On each side of the Garuḍa is seen a male figure holding a vīṇā associated with a standing female. This image has been described as one of the best specimens of the group. The inscription on the pedestal reads Śri Vaiṣṇavi.

34. Daṅggini or Raṅgini

Similar to other figures the upper part of the image is lost. She is seated on a lotus throne in lalitāsana supported by Garuḍa. There is a garland bearing female attendant on each side and a kneeling male on the recessed corner on the right. A female with a child is seen in the left. The mutilated inscription is read as Śri Raṅgini.

35. Rikshini or Rūpini[69]

The goddess is four-armed and three-eyed seated in lalitāsana on a lotus throne. Her hands are broken. The portions of lotus and a mace held in the left hand and daṇḍa in the right still survive. The lotus throne is supported on a *makara*. As usual she is associated with a garland bearing female attendant on each side, two seated devotees to the left and one to the right. The inscription is read as Śri Rūpini.

36. Sākini or Thikkini[70]

The upper portion of the deity is missing. The lower portion is seen in lalitāsana in lotus throne. The lotus seat is supported on the back of a bird that looks like a parrot. The right part of the slab is broken; the left portion contains a kneeling male with clasped hands. The inscription on the pedestal reads Śri Thikkini.

37. Ghanṭāli

The upper part of the goddess above the waist is missing. The lower part of the body as usual is seated on a lotus throne on the back of bull couchant. The pedestal contains a standing female attendant on each side, a male with four hands and in a recessed corner, a kneeling female facing the goddess with clasped hands. The pedestal contains the inscription Śri Ghanṭāli.

38. Taṭṭari or Dhadhdhari[71]

Only the lower part of the goddess seated on a cushion on the back of an elephant survives. There is a garland-bearing female attendant on the right, a female devotee with folded hands and a garland bearing female attendant. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as Śri Dhadhdhari.

39. Not inscribed

40. Gāṅggini or Jhaṅgini[72]

The lower part of the deity is seated as usual in lalitāsana on the lotus throne. The remains of her left hands reveal that the deity had four hands. Below the lotus seat is seen a bull couchant to the right. The pedestal contains two female attendants, one on each side and three mutilated seated figures. The inscription reads Śri Jhaṅgini.

41. Bhiṣiṇi

The deity is four-armed (all hands and head mutilated) and is seated on a cushion under which is seen a bearded male. An emaciated figure of preta with a dagger in his hand stands on the left. In front of this figure another preta is seated. A female stands to the left with fly whisk and another seated male to her left. The deity wears a garland of skulls. The inscription on the pedestal runs as Śri Bhiṣiṇi.

42. Satanusaṁbarā

The four-handed goddess is seated in lalitāsana on the lotus throne. All her hands and legs are mutilated. A horse or a bull is seen below the lotus pedestal. There is a standing female garland-bearing attendant on each side, associated with a seated male. There is a bearded male figure in front of the animal. The inscription on the pedestal reads Satanusaṁbarā.

43. Gahani

The upper portion of the deity including hands and face, is missing. She is seated in lalitāsana on a lotus throne. Below the lotus is a ram. There is a standing figure of preta on the left and a female on the right. On the recessed corners there are two other seated pretas. The inscription of the pedestal is Śri Gahani.

44. Not inscribed

45. Duduri or Deddari

The lower part of the deity below the waist remains available. The cushion on which she is seated is placed on the back of a fully caprisoned horse. There is a standing female garland bearer on each side and a seated male below the left knee of the image. The inscription on the pedestal is labelled as Śri Deddari.

46. Vārāhi

Similar to most of the figures described above, all the hands, upper part of the crown, lower portion of the face are mutilated. She is boar-headed, four-armed and three-eyed seated in ardhaparyaṅkāsana on a lotus throne. Below the lotus seat is a boar running to the right. Under the right knee of the goddess is seated a four-handed female figure holding a noose in one of her left hands and a bow in one of her right knees. A garland bearing female attendant is to be seen in a recessed corner on each side. The inscription reads Śri Vārāhi.

47. Nalini

The lower part of the goddess is seen in lalitāsana on the full-blown lotus pedestal. The rest of the body is mutilated. The lotus seat is placed on the back of a bull couchant. The pedestal contains two female attendants standing on each side, seated in front of whom are a male and a kneeling female with hands clapping in adoration. The inscription on the pedestal labels her Śri Nalini.

48. South East Entrance

49. Lost

50. Nandini

The goddess is eighteen-armed, seated in ardhaparyaṅkāsana. Three of her nine left hands hold pāśa, sāraṅgi and charma and the rest are broken. Below the lotus seat is seen a standing lion. To the left of the lion there is a goddess in sitting pose wearing a head-dress of skulls and holding a skull cup in her left hand.. There is another four-handed goddess to the right holding a sword in one of her hands. Behind this pārśvadevatā is another goddess wearing a head dress of skulls holding a sword in one of her hands and a skull cup in her right hands. The recessed corners are occupied by mutilated figures. The inscription reads Śri Nandini.

51. Indrāṇi

Only the legs of the deity and the lower part of the pedestal with figures are available. She is seated in lalitāsana on the lotus throne. Below the lotus seat is seen an elephant couchant with its head rising towards the goddess. The animal is holding the vanamālā of the goddess. There is a long-bearded male figure seated cross-legged on a lotus on the right of the elephant. Behind this figure there is a standing garland bearing female. Under the left knee of the deity is a seated female figure associated with a standing garland bearer. The inscription of the pedestal reads Indrāṇi.

52. Eruri or Erudi

The deity is four armed (all arms broken) boar-headed, seated in ardhaparyaṅkāsana. She wears jaṭāmukuṭa decorated with kirīṭa mukuṭa. The surviving portion of the right hand is in varadamudrā. Below the lotus is a seated quadruped with long horns probably, an antelope. There is a garland bearing female attendant on the right and another standing female attendant holding a fly whisk. On each side is seen a kneeling devotee. The inscription on the pedestal reads Śri Erudi. According to Cunningham the goddess has a cow head and there is a cow on the pedestal.

53. Shandini or Shndini[73]

The deity has lost all her arms and head and she is seated in lalitāsana on lotus throne, below which is seen a horse or an ass, going to the left. The deity wears a garland of skulls. The stella is decked with female attendant on each side holding a lotus. Three females on the right and one to the left are seated in the posture of adoration. The inscription in the pedestal reads as Śri Shandini.

54. Aiṅgini

All hands and portion of the face, central, middle and upper sections of the stella are mutilated. She appears to be the consort of Gaṇeśa. She is seated in the lalitāsana and has the head of an elephant. Below the right knee of the goddess Gaṅeśa is squating. The other figures associated with pedestal are two garland-bearing female attendants, one on each side, two figures to the left of the pedestal and a kneeling male on a recessed corner. The inscription on the pedestal labels her Śri Aiṅgini.

55. Name lost

56. Terantā or Teranivā

There is a beautiful image of Mahiṣamardini with sixteen hands, three eyes, standing in ativaṅga posture. Most of the hands are mutilated, the remaining three left hands hold a conch and shields and the remaining two right hands hold a trident and an arrow. The lion, the vāhana of the goddess, is biting the back of the buffalo. The severed head of the buffalo demon is seen in front of the body. The demon Mahiṣāsura is seen jumping with his hind legs resting on the ground and the front part raised up. The inscription on the pedestal labels the goddess as Śri Terambhā.

57. Paravi or Pāṇḍavi

The twelve-handed and three-eyed deity is seated on a full-blown lotus in padmāsana, all the hands except two upper left are mutilated. The remaining hands hold a shield and a pāśa. Below the lotus is a prostrate, bearded male. Two seated female figures are on each side, associated with a standing one behind them. The inscription reads Pāṇḍavi.

58. Vāyuvegā

She is as swift as the wind. The antelope on the pedestal evidently indicates the swiftness.

59. Abheravardhani or Masavardhani

The increaser of light. There is a class of demigods, 64 in number, who are named as Abhaswaras, who, from there number, would appear to have some connection with the 64 yoginis. The bird on the pedestal gives no assistance towards the meaning of the name.[74]

The goddess is four-armed seated on a full-blown lotus in lalitāsana. All hands are broken. There is a female attendant standing in each recessed corner with a garland and kneeling devotee in front of them. The inscription reads Śri Masavardhani.

60. Not inscribed

61. Sarvato-Mukhi

The goddess is twelve-armed and three-headed, seated on a full-blown lotus in lalitāsana. All her hands are mutilated. The face in the centre looks to the front having three protruding eyes, wide open mouth. The second face represents her sobre form, having half-opened eyes and closed lips. The third face is in terrific form, like the middle one. Below the lotus there is another full-blown lotus, the calyx of which contains the tāntric emblem of crossed triangle (ṣaṭ-koṇa) with the mystic symbol hrīm in the centre. A male attendant on the left one recessed corner holds a cup and skull. There is a seated female in front of him holding a sword in her left hand and a human head in the right. There is also a female attendant on the recessed corner to the right holding a sword and a shield associated with a seated human figure. The inscription on the pedestal reads Sarvatomukhi.

62. Mandodari

Only the lower part of the body is seen seated on a full-blown lotus in ardhaparyaṅkāsana under the lotus seat. Two males are seated face to face with folded hands in adoration. The other figures in the pedestal are two kneeling devotees, one on each side and two garlands bearing female attendants.

63. Khemukhi

The image is badly mutilated. The remaining portion of the body of the goddess is seated in lalitāsana on lotus throne. Out of her four hands, the lower right hand which survives holds a rosary. The garland-bearing female attendants and kneeling devotees are to be seen on each. The inscription runs Śri Khemukhi.

64. Jāmbavi

A badly mutilated female figure with boar-face seated as usual in lalitāsana on the lotus throne. The mutilated figure of a quadruped animal is seen below the lotus. The other figures on the pedestal are standing garland-bearer and kneeling devotees. The inscription on the pedestal labels her Jāmbavi.

65. Auragā or Audarā

The four-armed goddess (all hands broken) is seated on the lotus throne in lalitāsana. Below the pedestal is seen a nude male in squatting position. There are two kneeling devotees, one female and the other male and two garland-bearing female attendants. The inscription on the pedestal is Śri Audarā.

66. Lost

67. Thiracittā or Sthiracittā

The goddess is four-armed, seated in padmāsana on a lotus. All her four hands and the head are missing. Below the lotus are seen the figures of three devotees and two garland bearing female attendants. The lotus on which the goddess is seated springs out of a vase in the centre of the pedestal. The inscription reads Śri Sthiracittā.

68. Yamunā

The lower part of the female figure survives. She is seated in lalitāsana on a lotus. Her vāhana, tortoise (kūrma) is below the lotus seat. There is a standing female attendant on each side holding a garland. The inscription on the pedestal labels her Śri Yamunā.

69. Lost

70. Vibhatsā

She is four-armed and three-eyed, seated on the lotus throne. One right hand that survives holds a shield. A bearded male is lying prostrate on the ground under the lotus. On the left side are seen two pretas, one standing and the other seated. The goddess wears a garland of skulls. The inscription is Śri Vibhatsā.

71. Siṁhasiṁhā

The goddess is four-armed seated as usual in lalitāsana. All her four hands and the face are mutilated. The lotus throne is supported on the shoulders of a squatting male with the head of a lion. To the left there are two figures of pretas, one standing with a dagger and the other seated with another dagger. In the right side is seen a preta eating something while the other is seated with a skull cup in his hand. The inscription on the pedestal labels her Śri Siṁhasiṁhā.

72. Nilāḍaṁbarā or Nilāmbarā

The goddess is four-armed and three-eyed, seated on full-blown lotus in lalitāsana. The lotus throne on which the deity is seated is supported by a kneeling male figure evidently Garuḍa. All four hands, portion of the face and part of the legs of the deity are broken. The other figures in this stella are garland-bearing female attendants, one on each side and a fat male seated on each side. The inscription on the pedestal designates her as Śri Nilāḍaṁbarā.

73. Name lost

74. Antakari

The four-armed goddess is seated on lotus in lalitāsana. All her four arms are broken. The deity looks terrifying with her mouth wide open, ready to devour, eyes bulging out of their sockets, head crowned with a muṇḍamālā surmounted by a three-hooded snake and flames of fire. The left portion shows a seated male holding a pen and inkpot. The inscription on the pedestal calls her Śri Antakari.

75. Name lost

76. Piṅgalā

The goddess is seated on a lotus with four hands (all broken). Below the lotus pedestal is a parrot with a curved beak. A small collar is tied round in the neck of the parrot. A female attendant on the left holds a mirror and a dagger and the female figure on the right a fly whisk. There are two male and two female figures, two of which holding a sword and skull cup. The inscription on the pedestal calls her Śri Piṅgalā.

77. Ahkhalā

Only the lower part of the goddess survives. She is seated in padmāsana on a lotus. Below the lotus seat of the goddess there are two kneeling male devotees associated with a divine figure, who may be tentatively identified as Brāhmaṇi or Saraswati. The inscription on the pedestal reads Ahkhalā.

78. Not inscribed

79. Kṣātradharmiṇi

The four-armed goddess seated on a lotus throne, supported on the back of quadruped which looks like an elephant with lion like claws. There are one standing and three seated attendants to the right while the left part is damaged. The inscription on the pedestal reads Śri Kṣātradharmiṇi.

80. Virendri

The four-armed goddess is seated in lalitāsana on a lotus, two of her hands are broken from the elbow. The surviving hands hold a shield and a sword, a bearded male is lying prostrate below the lotus seat, and an emaciated male is seated near his feet. The head of a horse is seen under the lotus throne. The halo contains a Gandharva pair and a female attendant on each side. The inscription on the pedestal labels her Śri Virendri.

81. Lost

82. Ridhalidevi

The goddess is four-armed (three arms broken), seated as usual in lalitāsana on a full-blown lotus. Below the lotus seat is a headless lion. There are garland-bearing standing female attendants on each side and two seated human figures. The label on the pedestal identified it as Ridhalidevi.

In addition to these images there are figures of Śiva, Gaṇeśa, Hanumān, Bodhisattva etc. which are not considered necessary for our description. Cunningham[75] has categorised the images set up in the circular temple at Bherāghāt in the following manner.

Śaktis, commonly known as Aṣṭa Śaktis	8 statues
Rivers : Gangā, Yamunā and Sarasvati	3 statues
Dancing goddess Kāli and Caṇḍi	4 statues
Gods, Śiva and Gaṇeśa	2 statues
Yoginis or the chaunsath (64) joginis, 57 intact, 7 lost	64 statues
	81 statues
Two entrances (3 spaces)	3 statues
Total	84 statues

Dr R.K. Sharma[76] following the classification of the images by Cunningham has divided these into six groups such as :

A. Śakti image, B. Mātṛka images, C. River goddeses, D. Yogini images (inscribed), E. Yogini images (un-inscribed), F. Others. Dr Sharma's classification of the images, excluding the Saptamātṛkas, does not appear to be tenable. The Saptamātṛka group according to the text forms the principal yoginis. When the Saptamātṛkas, river goddesses, and yogini images are taken together, the total is made up of 75. Scholars while discussing the yoginis have accepted the Mātṛkas as principal yoginis but in classification of the images at Bherāghāt they have altogether left the mātṛka figures and river goddesses from the list of yoginis. These images evidently come in the group of yoginis constituting the circle of seventy-five in total.

We have seen in the lists of yoginis described above that the names of some river goddesses occur. Gaṅgā and Yamunā form the circle of sixty-four yoginis at Hirāpur. Hence there is plausible justification in accepting the river goddesses sculptured at Bherāghāt as yoginis. Here it may be mentioned that the rivers Gaṅgā and Yamunā are found sculptured in many ancient Hindu temples on either side of the entrance. Instead of being sculptured at the entrance of the yogini temples as side deities they have been included in the group of yoginis for whom the circular temples are dedicated.

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5

Sculptural Art

The sculptural art of each part of mediaeval India based on the earlier evolution that took place in varied manners under the royal patronage, clearly conforms to the general art movements of the country as a whole. The output of the mediaeval Indian sculptures is so abundant and so varied and complex in nature, exposing numerous styles in conformity with the philosophy of different cults, that a compendium of it is an impossible task. However, stylistically the sculptural art like that of other forms of art and aspects of culture can be categorised in accordance with the geographical regions of Eastern India, Central India, Western India, Northern India, Deccan and so on, each region exhibiting peculiar characteristics of its own.

The three extant monuments depicting sixty-four yoginis belong to three different dynasties ruling over in three different periods of Indian history. Each of the monuments conforms to the art movement of the period, maintaining its tradition in pursuance of the textual description. The yogini temples and the enshrined sculptures evidently constitute remarkable assay in plastic creations, throbbing with religious symbolism, and have brilliantly illuminated the mediaeval Hindu art and architecture. The sculptures of yogini temples may be taken as masterpieces and of exclusively high quality. The images in their jewellery, draperies, coiffures as in their postures and gestures far excel other art forms of the time. Of the three existing sixty-four yogini temples, Hirāpur temple is not only the oldest but also artistically the best of all and in a good state of preservation. "With its smaller size, its compact design, admirable proportions, its hard, close-grained stone sculptures neatly arranged in small niches, and the exquisite variety and beauty of many of the poses, it is not only a fascinating monument, it exercises a strange effect on the spectator. The writer of these lines does not hesitate to own that he felt here an almost mystic power in the intensity of the feeling that created this lovely temple, whereas of the much larger and less beautiful temple at Ranipur Jharial he experienced a sense of diffuseness and repetitiveness, a monotony in the sculpture-elements that are totally absent at Hirāpur. The temple of the sixty-four yoginis at Hirāpur is a great work of art, an exquisite monument, born out of emotional inspiration. There is an atmosphere here such as pervades the great cave temples of India, or the fine cathedrals of the West; yet the circular temple of Hirāpur is hardly bigger than a large room.[1]

The yogini temple at Hirāpur being the work of the Bhaumakara rulers bears necessarily the characteristics of the period. The Bhaumakaras are considered to be the pioneer dynasty in laying the foundation stone of a big kingdom with sound administrative system and to open a new chapter in the history of art and architecture in Orissa. The yogini temple at Hirāpur erected towards the end of Bhauma rule depicts in full vigour the matured artistic grandeur. Each of the yogini figures in posture, ornamentation, facial expression and coiffure appears to be different from the other, but at the same time all put together give a coherent effect of superb artistic plasticity. Each fragment of art found expression in these images deserves special attention. So far as the hair styles of the images in the temple are concerned, each one shows a variety and fashion different from the other and furnishes an interesting subject for study. Of the various patterns of coiffures, mention may be made of hair combed backwards and secured in a roundish bulb or bun with a knot to either side of the head popularly known as Keśapāśa style[2], hair arrangement in the shape of a spiral at the top of the head, coiffure with a top knot and a loose knot on the occiput, hair-dressed in fanshape tiers, hair buns divided into three parts with chains and hair tied in the shape of flames, knotted hair in three or five tiers emitting the shape of halo etc. Ornamentation of the images in the head, ear, neck, arm, wrist, waist and leg are superbly carved out indicating the artistic imagery of the craftsmen. However, from bird's eye view it may be concluded that the sixty-four yogini temple of Hirāpur represents a very interesting phase of artistic fluorescence of the epoch.

The distinguishing characteristics of Kaliṅgan art are expressed through the cult images and the decorative motifs consisting of erotic figures, decorative female figures of bewildering varieties and other innumerable decorative motifs such as human figures either in individual form or in panels depicting mythological and social scenes, varieties of animals with the exuberance of elephants and floral, architectural and geometrical designs, symmetry and proportions in designing the sculptures with roundness of face, pointed nose, bulging of breasts, sharp facial profiles, swollen cheeks, half-buried eyes, smiling face, profuse ornamentations, from leg to head, exquisite workmanship in every inch of the body, leaving no breathing space, compactness and harmony in assimilation of cult images with decorative motifs, proportions in setting component parts in a stone structure, their manifestations of celestial divinities around the presiding cult images in association with human and secular figures, animals and fantastic designs each informative in character symbolising the wholeness in a manner where no other better arrangement can be conceived of. These peculiarities which can more or less be attributed to Kalingan sculptural art all through the ages. Architecturally the yogini temples in Orissa are simple but sculpturally they are rich. Most probably the sculptors exhibited their craftsmanship, and ingenuity in depiction of the yogini images leaving the temple barren.

The Kalachuris, the great patrons of art and culture encouraged art forms in the region extending from Allahabad to Jabalpur. The characteristic features of Kalachuri art, exemplified in the images of Bherāghāt yogini temple as described by Dr Nihar Ranjan Ray, run as follows.

"It should be remembered that this entire region has ever been the home of a large segment of our aboriginal population and it is significant that they have stamped a strong impress not only on the physiognomy but also on the form and medium of the mediaeval Haihaya art. On the ground of the common mediaeval denominator of north-Indian art, the aboriginal element is deeply marked. Not in a few figure reliefs a new facial type, squarish in cut, with swollen cheeks, big mouth and eyes closed as if in solemn pride in its own importance, goes hand in hand with a short featured body that is swelled into heavy round masses as if by pressure from within, and which is borne on a still pair of legs. Though controlled by sharp outlines deeply cut, the bulging plastic mass, fully modelled, is frankly reminiscent of the 'classical' volume, but the sharp bends of joints of limbs, particularly at the knee and the elbow, of the main and sharp facial profiles of the latter with their pointed noses and chins are clear manifestations of the specifically 'mediaeval' trends. Morevover, the subsidiary figures are conceived and executed in an altogether different manner, thinner and sharper in appearance and form, very much unlike the heavy and swelling roundness of the main figures. But the most distinguishing characteristic of Haihaya sculptures is the overcrowding of the reliefs with such a multitude of things as not to leave any space for breathing as it were. Indeed, they are so many and so heaped one on the shoulder of another—men, women, architectural and decorative elements all in heavy round volumes in high relief that the reliefs appear heavy and cumbersome. Crowded details seem to sit heavily on the composition and it looks as though the structure would fall to pieces by their very weight.[3]"

The Chandelas in Central India introduced a style of art and architecture which constitutes remarkable assay in plastic creations. The symmetrical representation of the sculptures, their throbbing religious symbolism, their highly expressive and eloquent eroticism incarnated in the temple walls, brilliantly illuminate a very shining phase of Hindu mediaeval sculptural art. The art of Chandelas has been eloquently described as the postscript to the brilliant monument of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in 9th century A.D. which witnessed the zenith of plastic art. The art of the Chandelas is an effloresence that rolled on in new waves and in new sequences. The Khajurāho temples of the Chandelas, within a period of one hundred years in a small geographical region, exhibit a peculiar local style which can be compared with the art of Pālas in Bengal and Gaṅgas in Orissa which continued over a long period of time.

"The Chandela sculptures have evolved in the faces of their images, in their jewelleries, draperies and coiffures, and in the treatment of their figures—certain special characteristics and artistic conventions, certain manners, if not mannerisms, which help us to identify the style by means of these significant characteristic and stylist features. The general types created by the Chandela artists—always appear in standing poses, however extravagant the gesture. The design springs from below like a growing thing. The treatment of limbs is curvilinear, but austerely so, the straight lines of the lower parts of the body and of the arms being used to develop the swelling hips and breasts. Arms and hands are very vividly treated, the drawing of the gesture, however perfect, never degenerating into a dominant silhouette. The sense of movement is never linear in origin but always in three dimensions. It is obvious that such an art is based upon a special sense of form."[4]

The outstanding character is the peculiar treatment of the physiognomy of face, the rendering of the eye-brows, the eyes, the nose and the lips. The form of the face is elliptical like the egg (aṇḍākṛti), full and rounded at the chins. In profile the nose is on the same place as the brow-angular at the tips of the nose, the lips and the chin. In a full-face front view—the nostrils—spreadout almost to the length of the lips. But the most characteristic features are the half open and sometimes, drooping eyes and the peculiar treatment of the eye-brows. Each eye-brow is designed in a long beautiful curve—in raised ridges terminating near the root of the nose but they rarely touch each other. A Chandela sculpture can be easily identified by the treatment of the eye-brows. The next characteristic feature is the treatment of the hair with the strokes of the hairs—lightly but not too emphatically rendered—in the case of the male types but are projected in two series of emphatic curls at the centre. The lower boundary of hair is almost parallel to the linear rhythm of the eye-brow lending to the forehead a short crescent form. In the case of Śiva and other Śaivite images the matted locks are arranged in various kinds of artistic folds and sometimes arranged in the form of a bridge across the head. But generally the coiffure of Śiva's matted locks is in the form of a conical pyramid. In the case of women, particularly, of apsarāses and nāyikās, the strokes of the comb on the hair are not indicated and the hair is rendered in one mass sitting on the head like a cap, casting thick shadows at the edges of the brow. In other important types of celestial dancers and nāyikās, the tresses are arranged on the top of the head in beautiful coils of stepped-pyramids—held together with large wooden hairpins; the combined effect is that of a fine little coronate which lends to these attractive young damsels a fine dress of dalliance. Most of the women figures wear a thin scarf with a regular series of folds, which come round the busts—and descend down the shoulder in a rhythmic curve—stopping below the waist near the buttocks to which the ends of the scarf point with significant deliberation. Even in the case of nude damsels, the twisting scarf across the torso is rarely omitted. The purpose of this introduction of the scarf with its four regular folds, is to draw attention to the smooth surface of the body—and its delicate, shapely modulations.

The sculptural art of the Bhaumakaras, Somavamsis, Chandelas and the Kalachuris as reflected mainly in the temples represent four different styles and phases in the history of Indian art. Each of the styles has much affinity with the other while maintaining its own peculiar characteristics based on general śilpaśāstra and local tradition. The yogini temples and the sculptures conform clearly to the characteristic styles developed during the rule of these illustrious dynasties.

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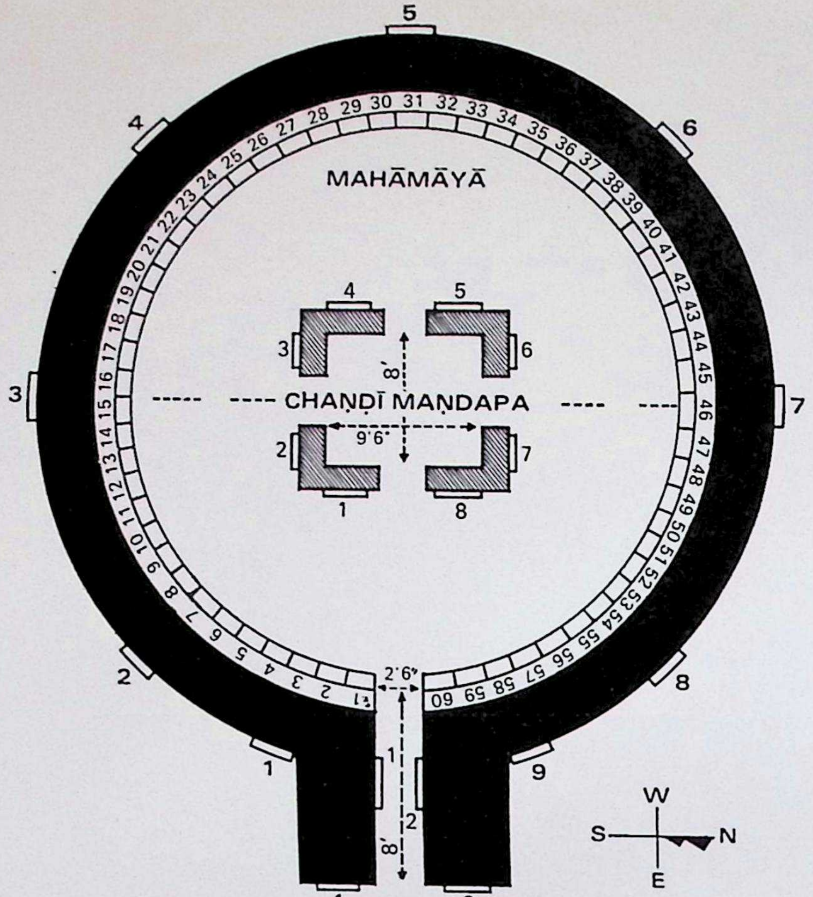
PLATES
SITE - PLANS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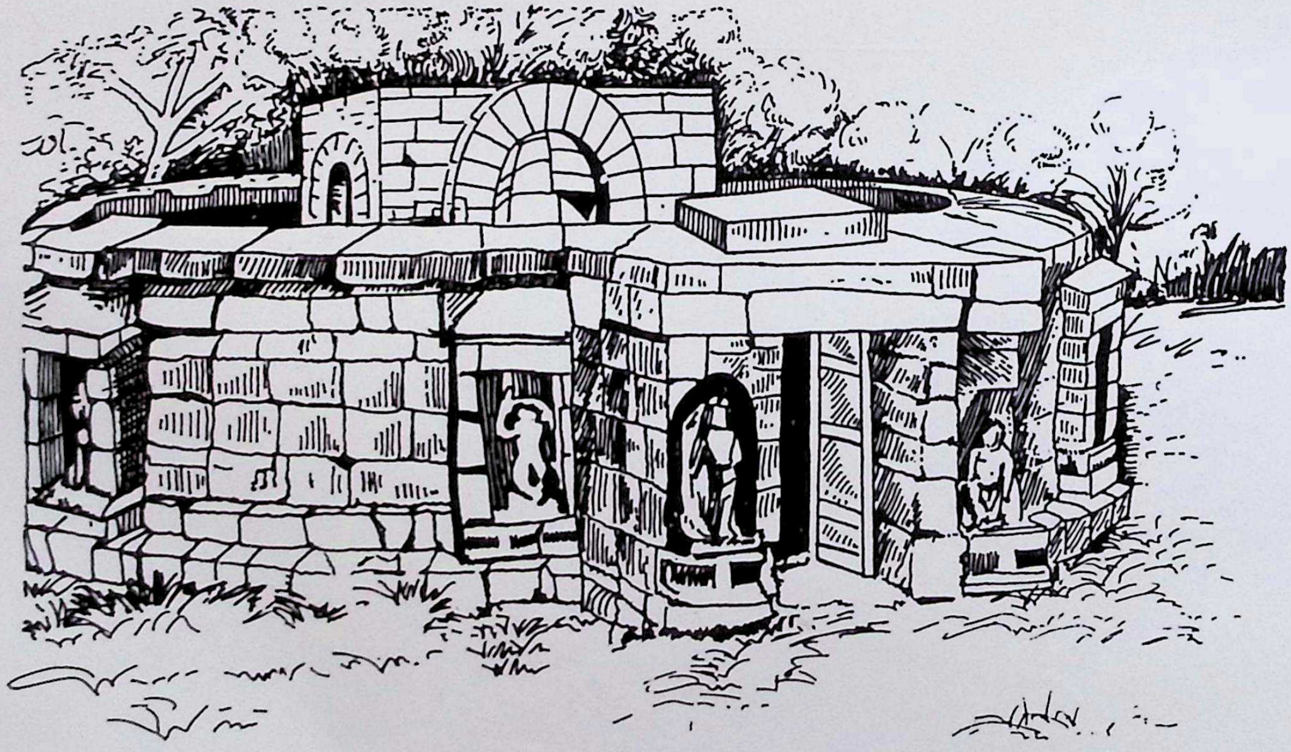
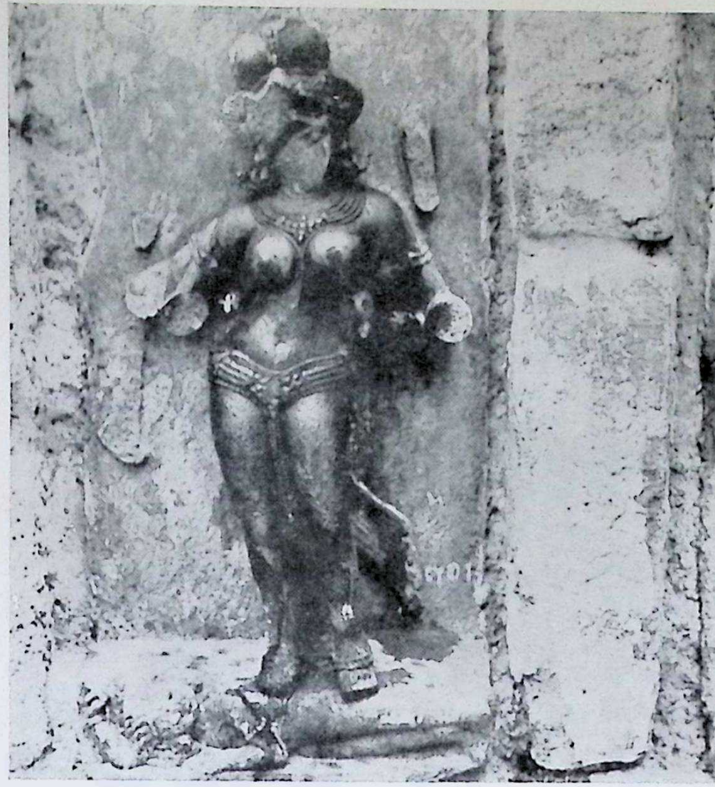
THE GROUND PLAN OF THE CIRCULAR TEMPLE
AT HIRĀPUR



General and inner View of the Sixty-four Yogini Temple Hirāpur



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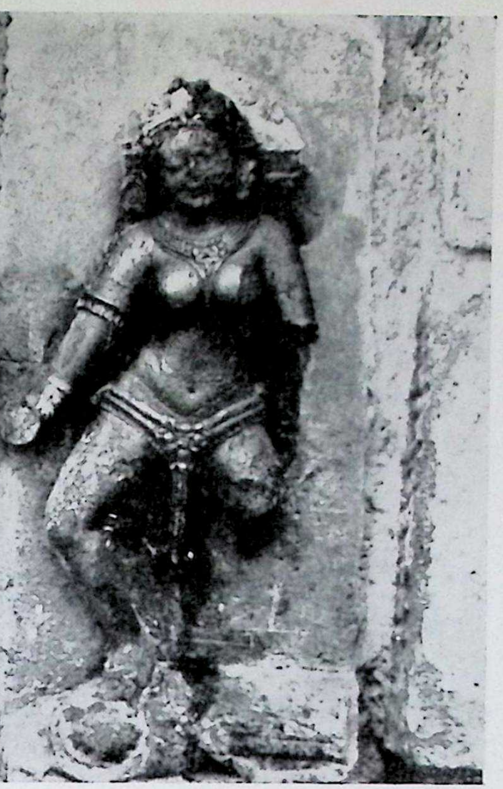

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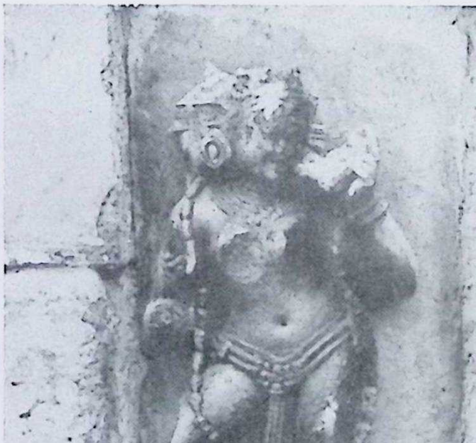

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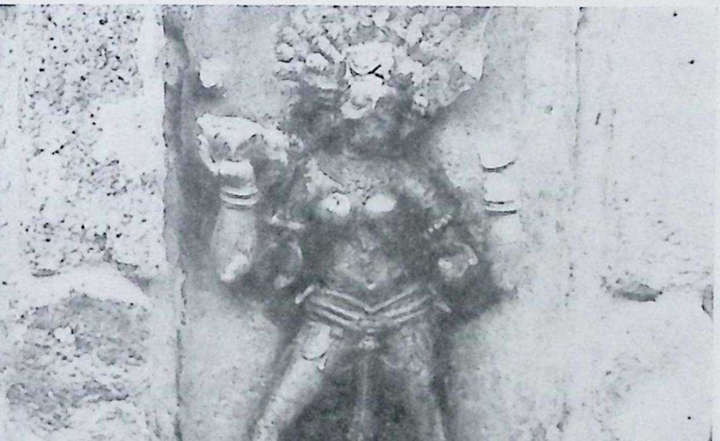

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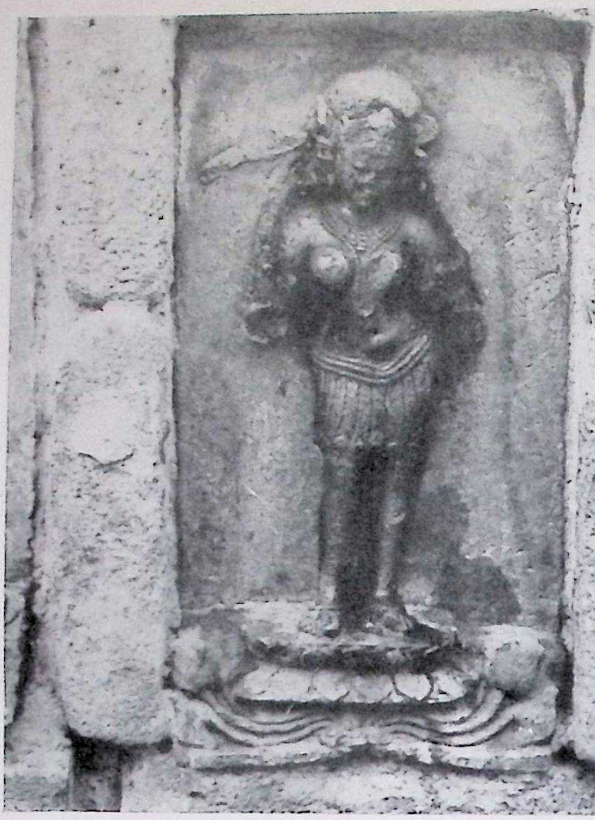

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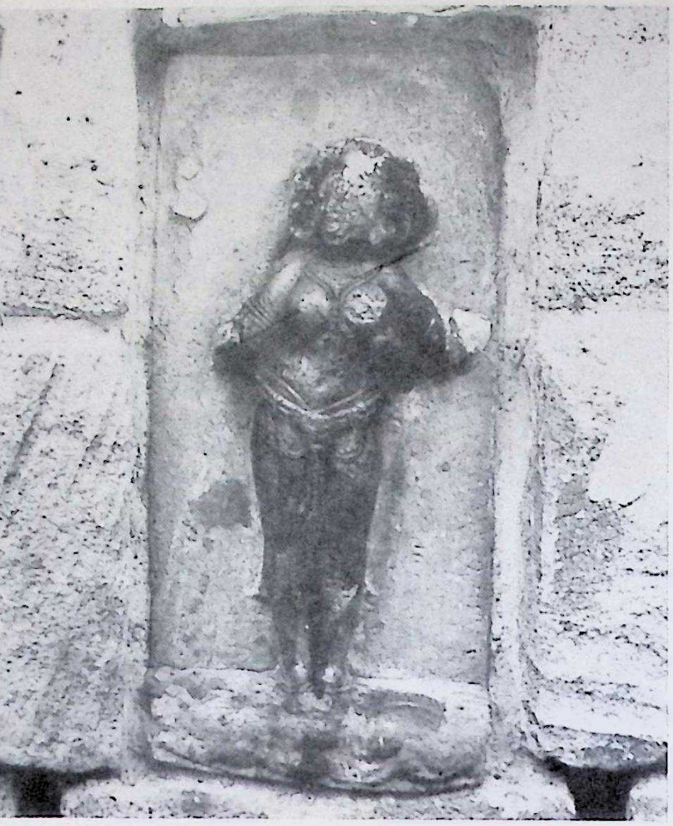

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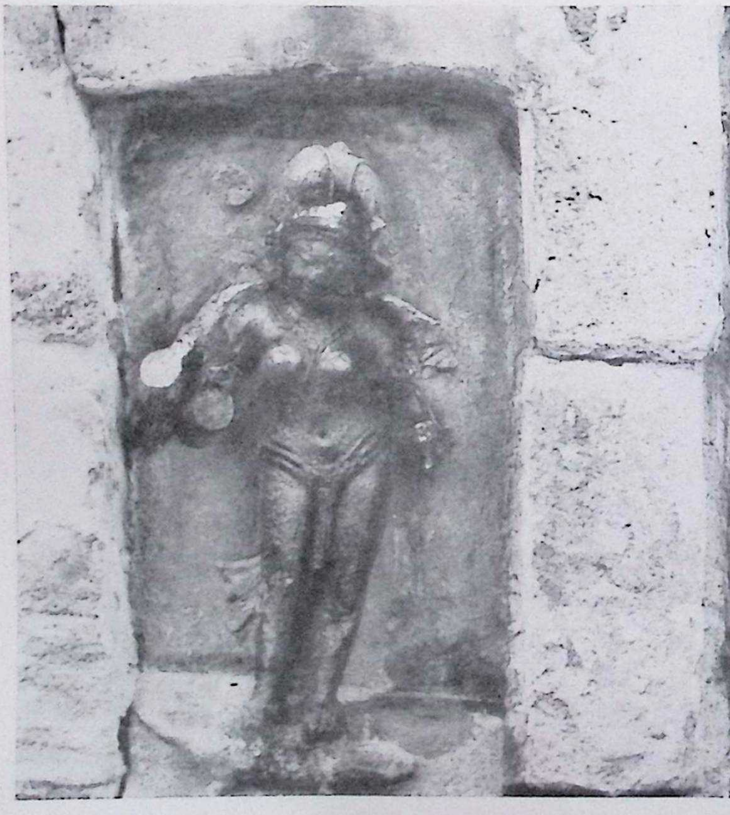

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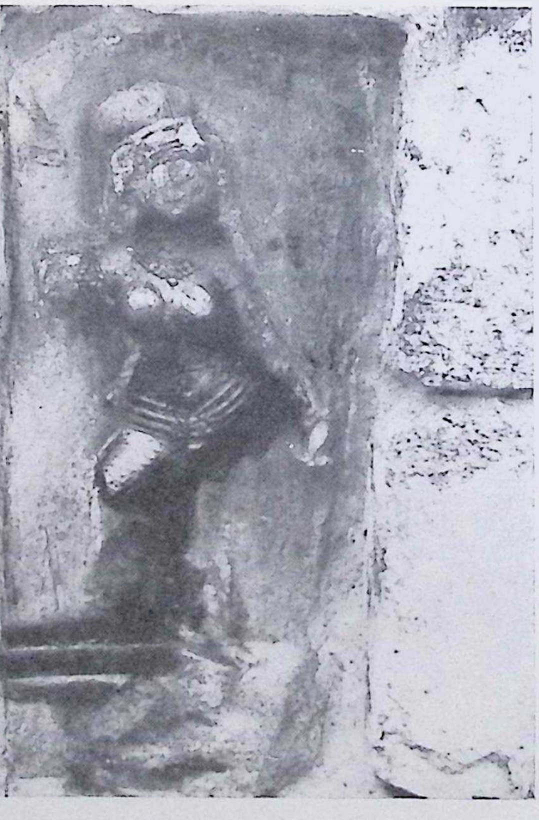

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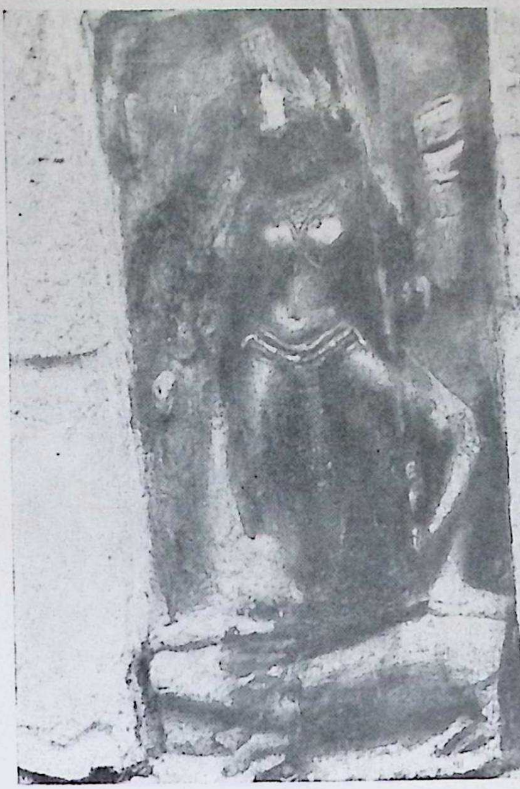

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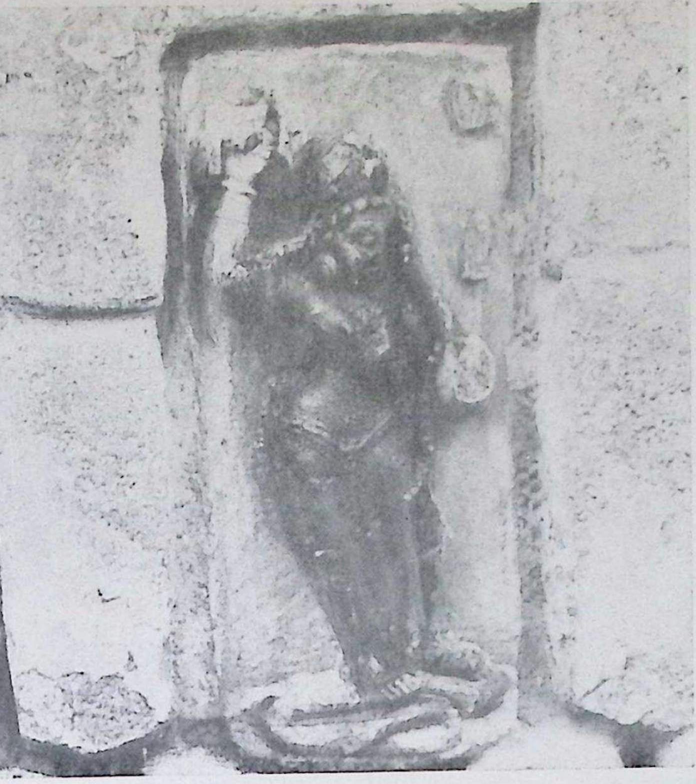

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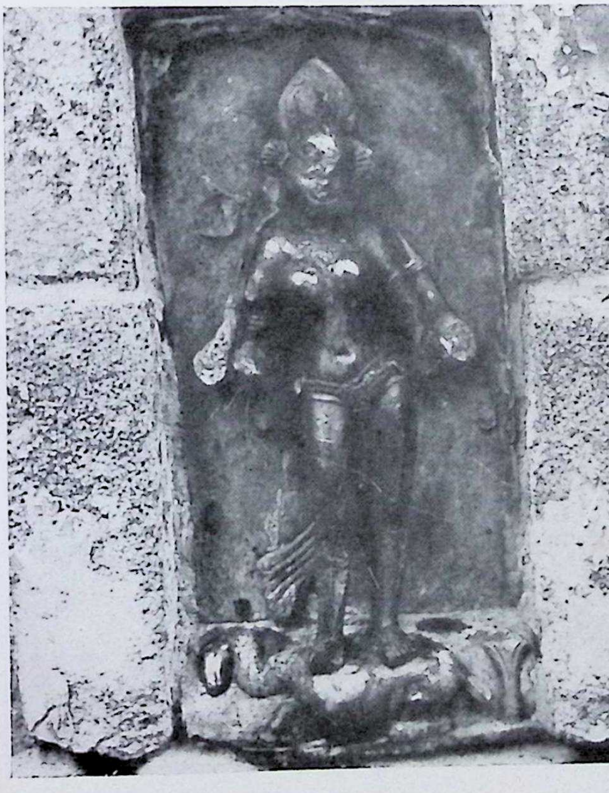

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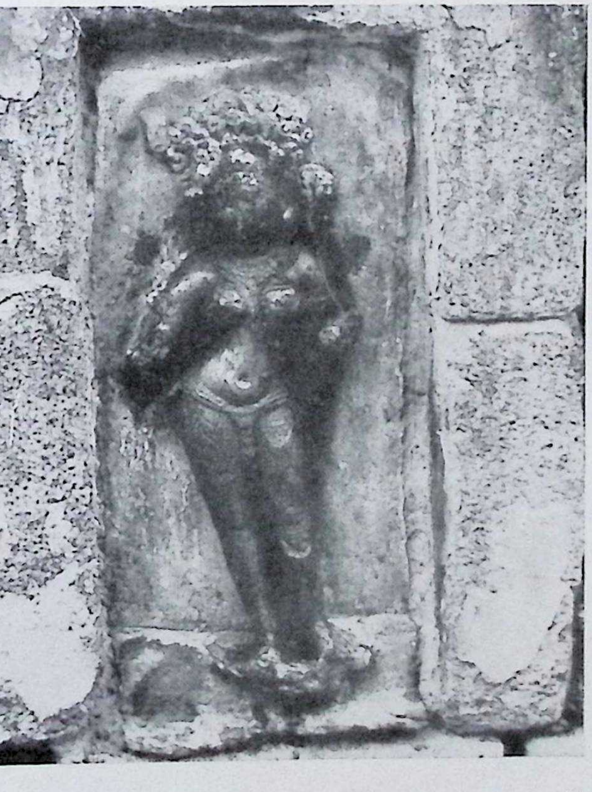

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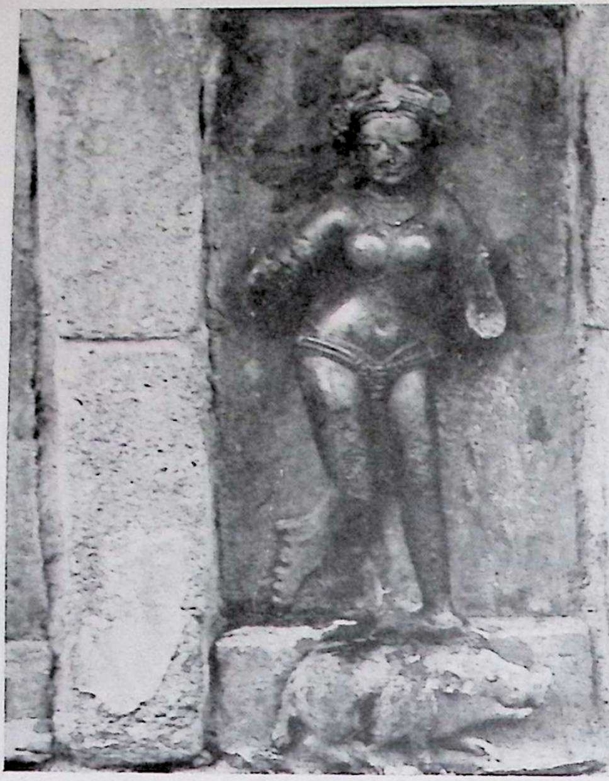
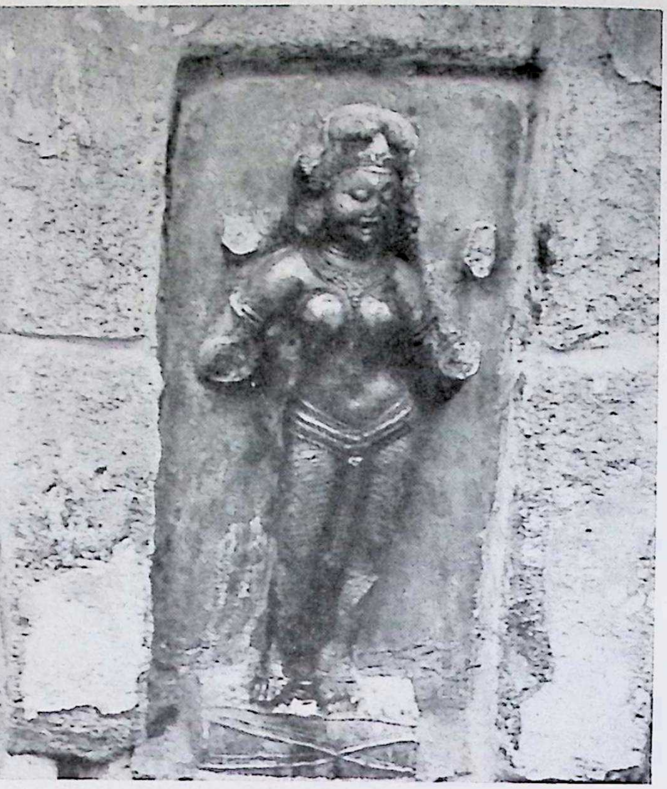


15 *One of the Pañca Vārāhis* (*No. 13*)



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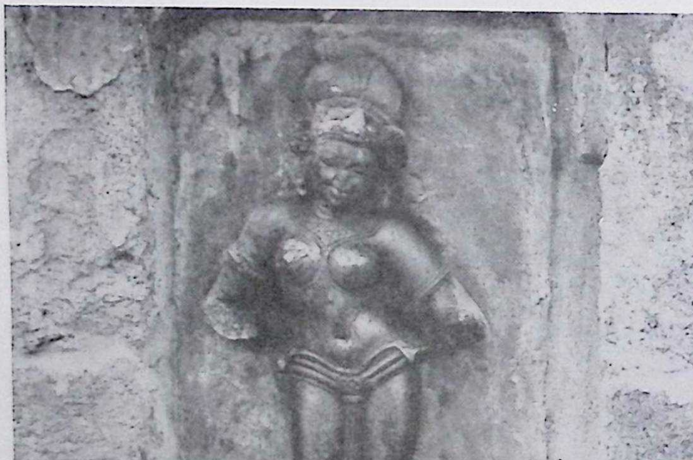

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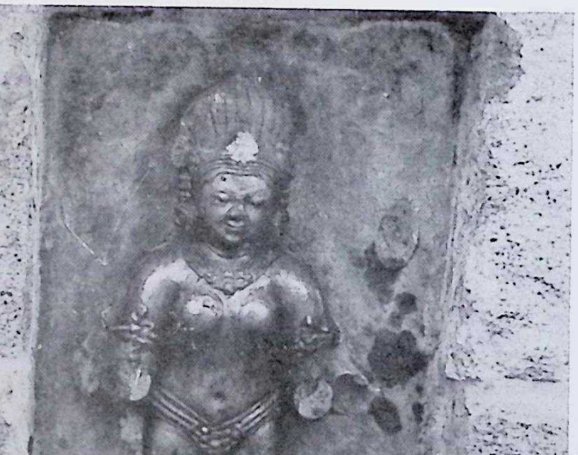

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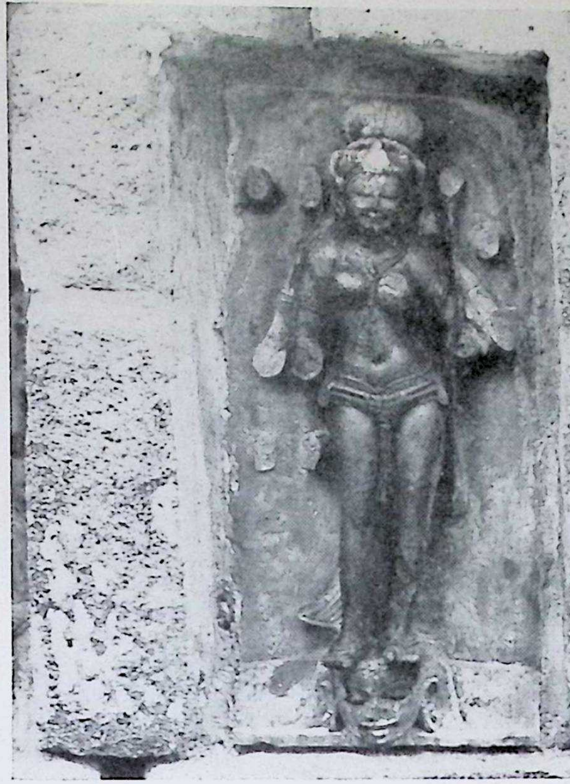

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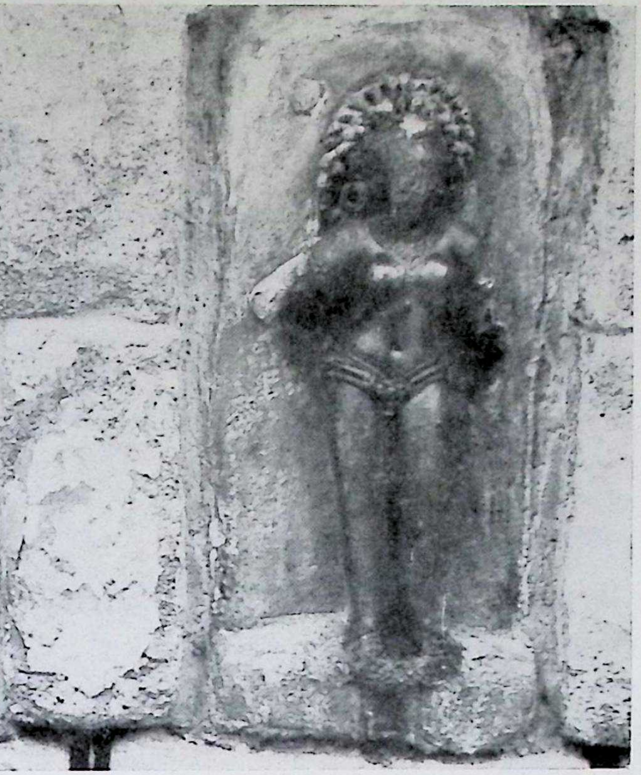

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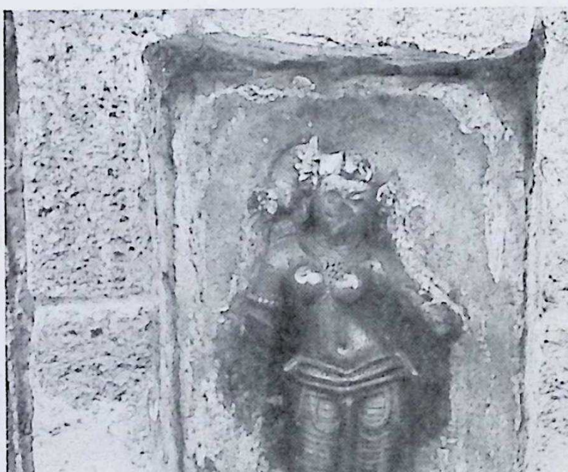

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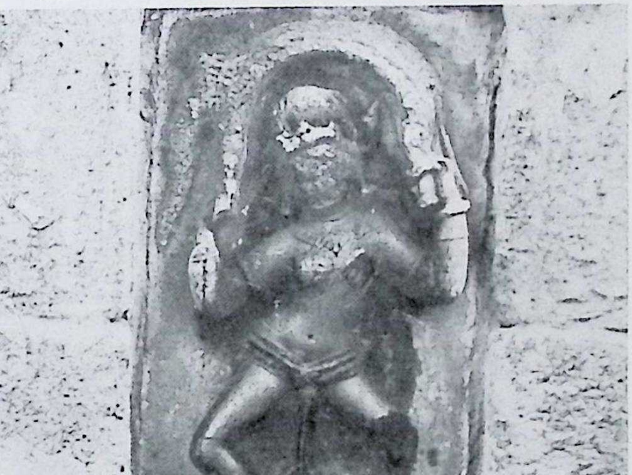

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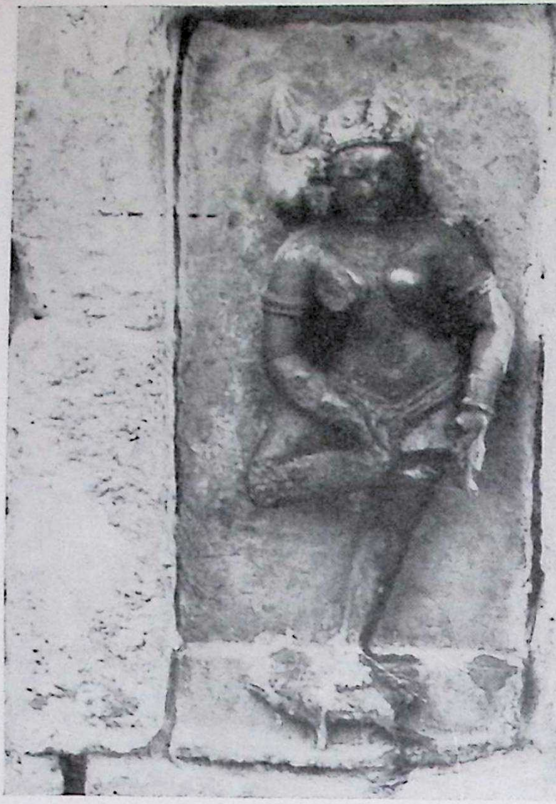

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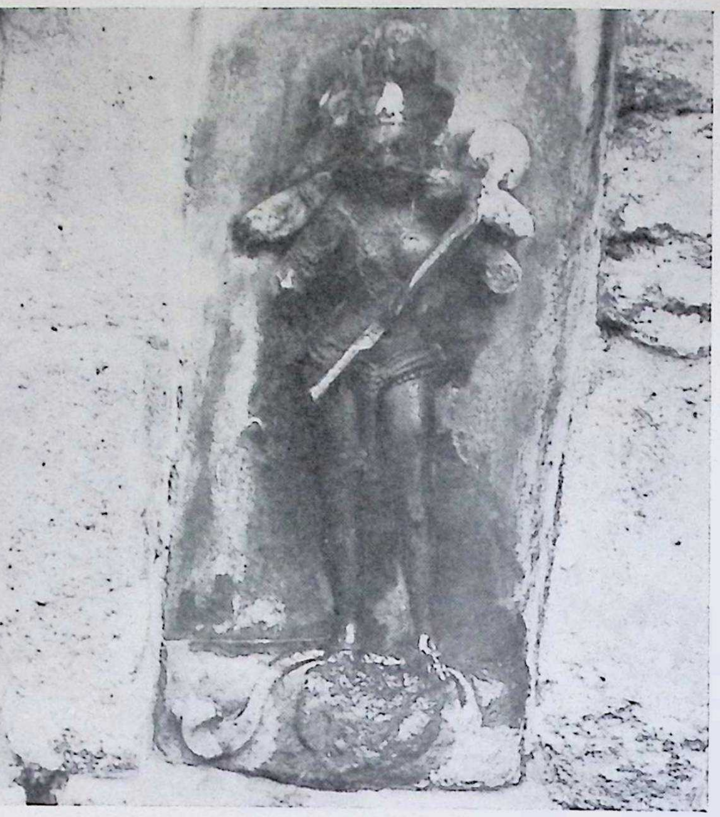

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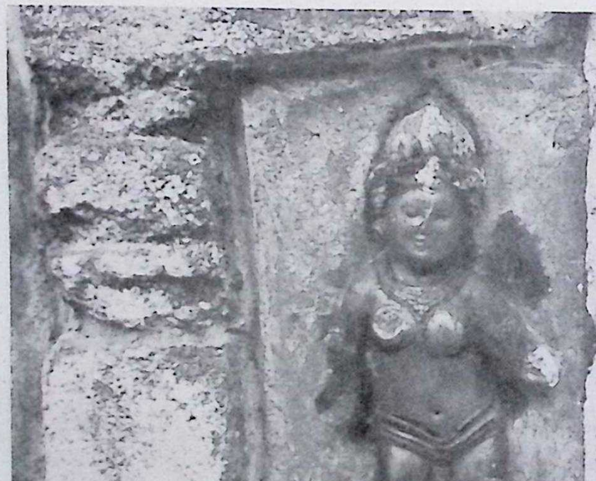

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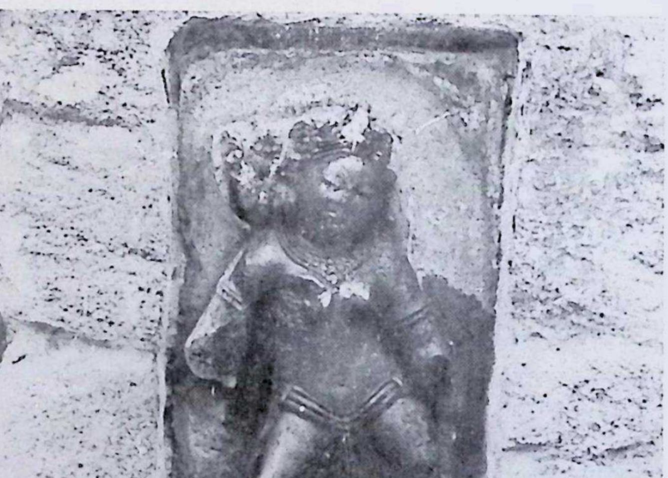

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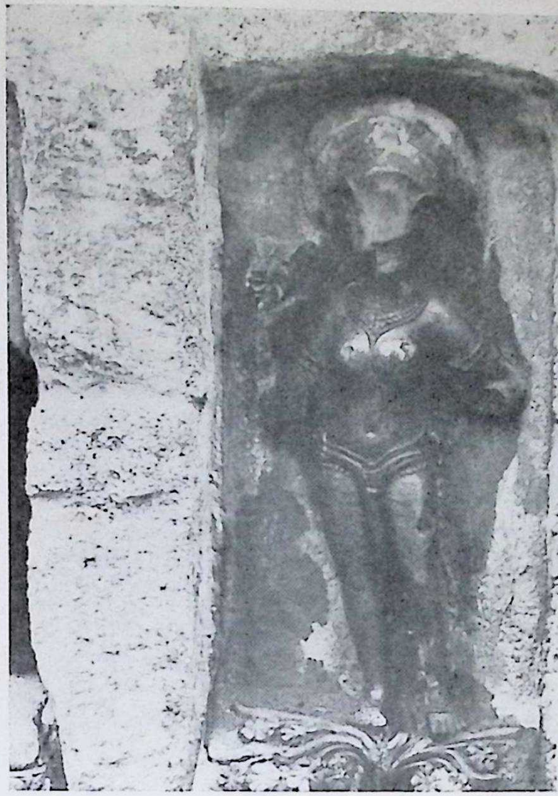

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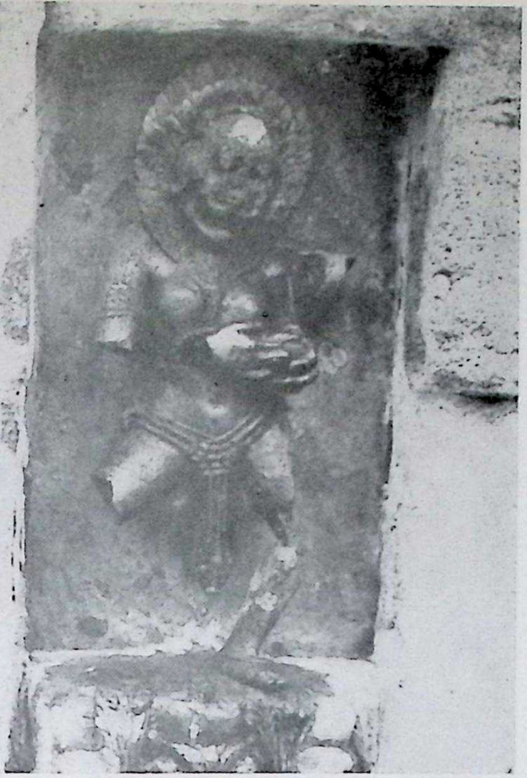

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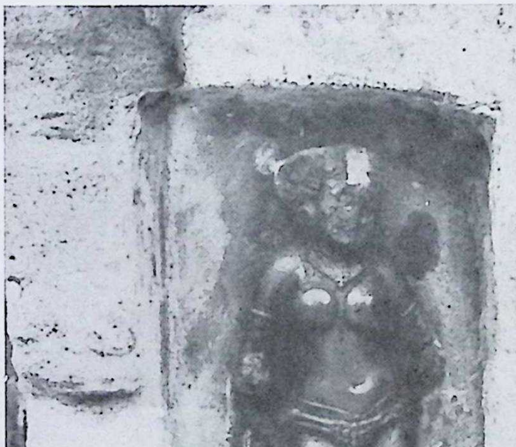

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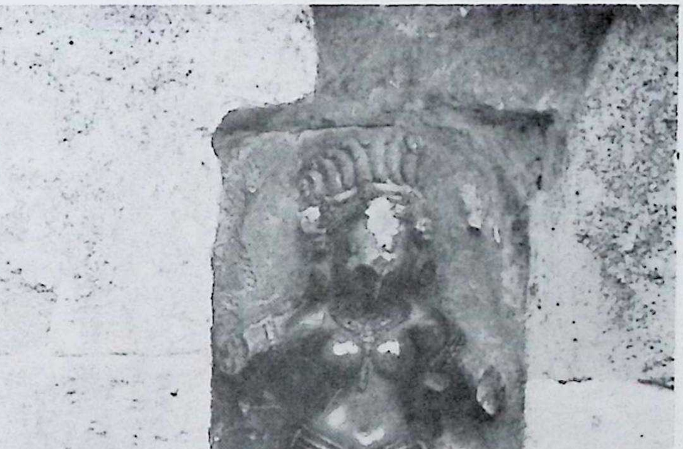

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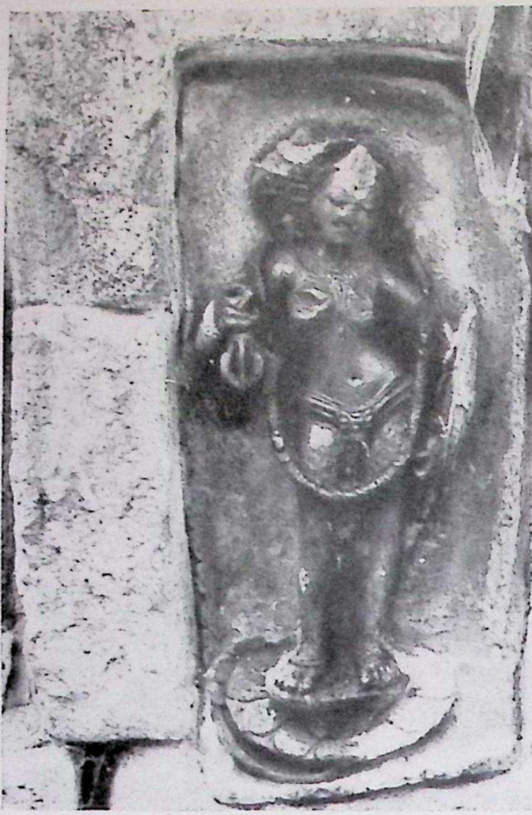

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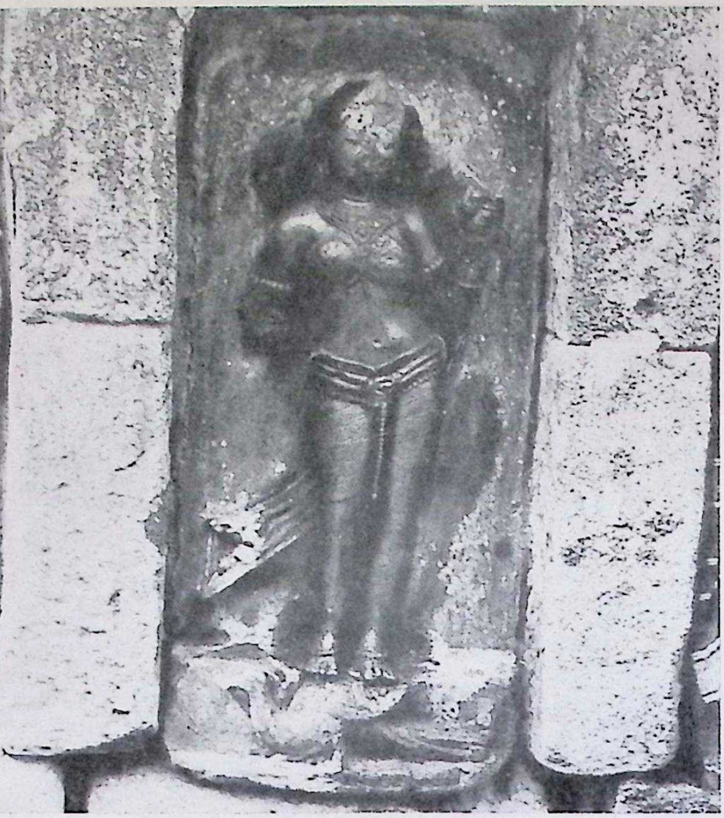

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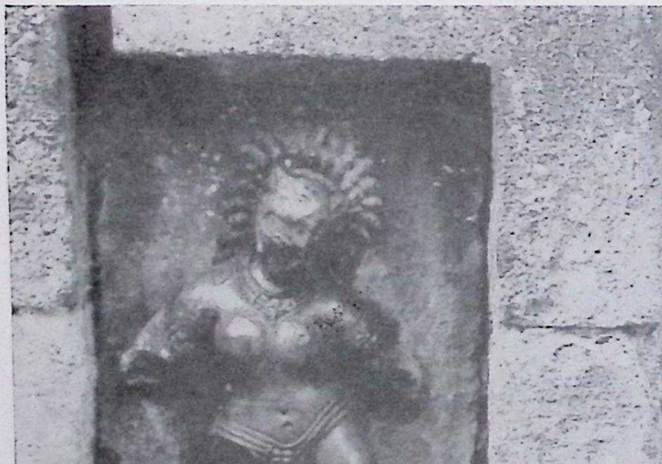

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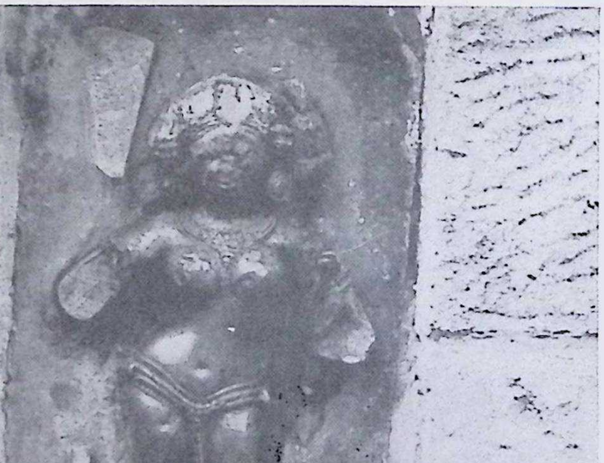

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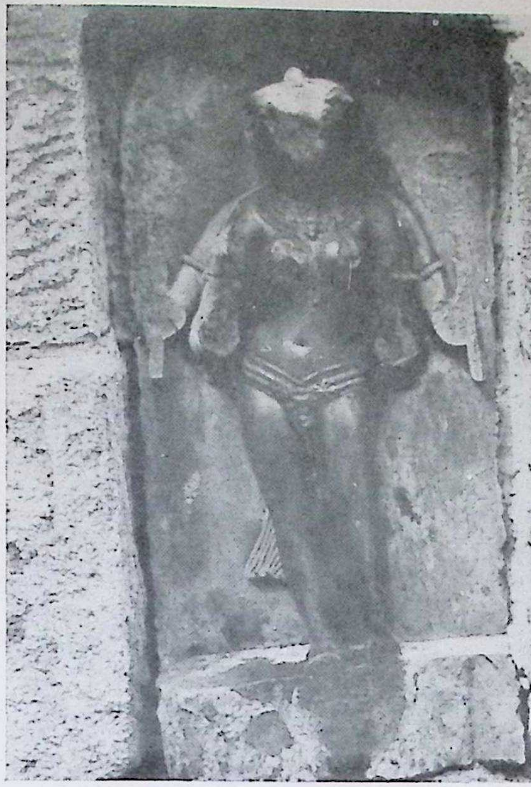

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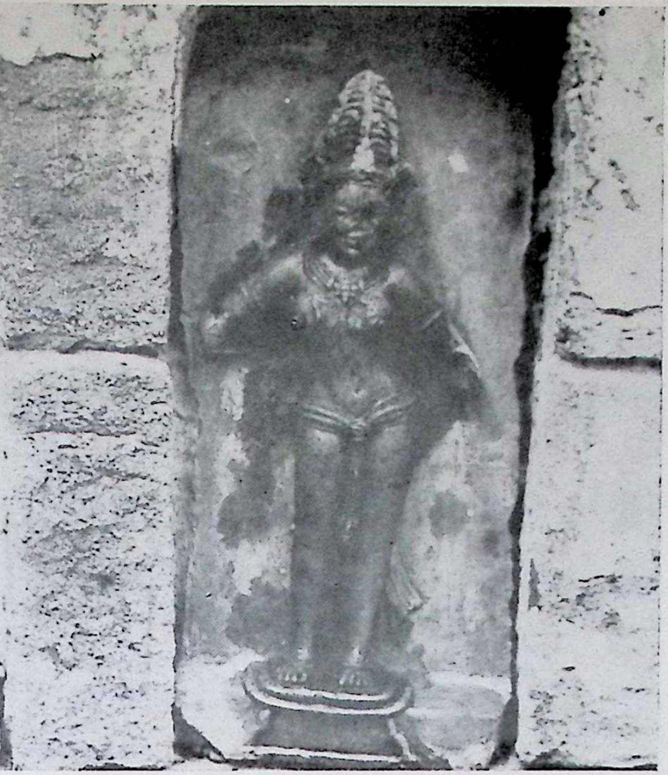

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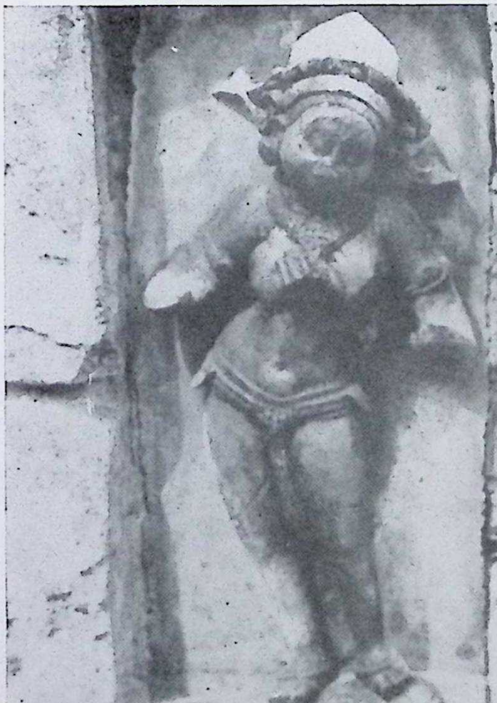

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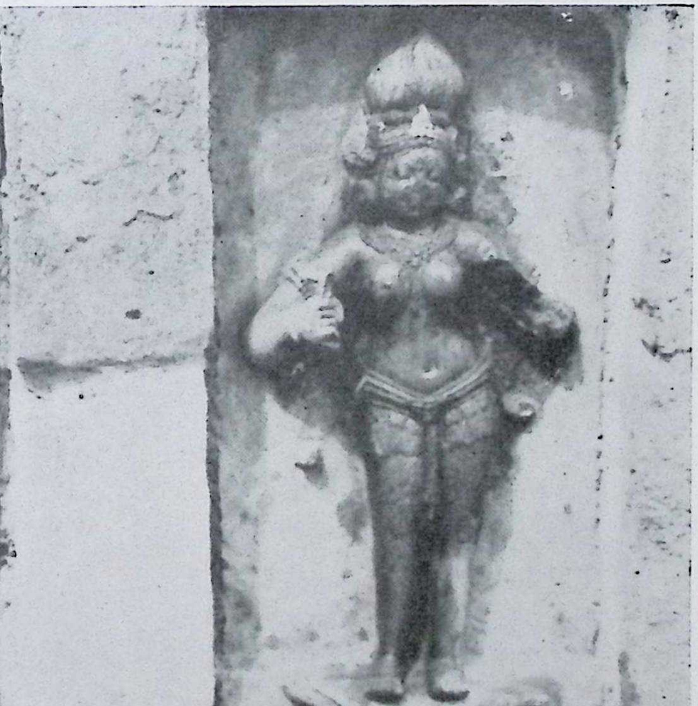

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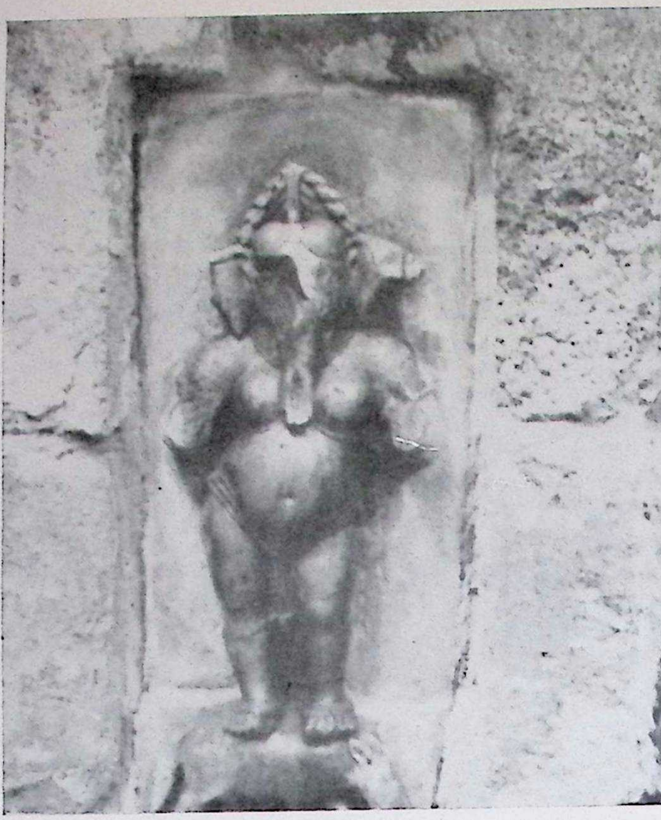

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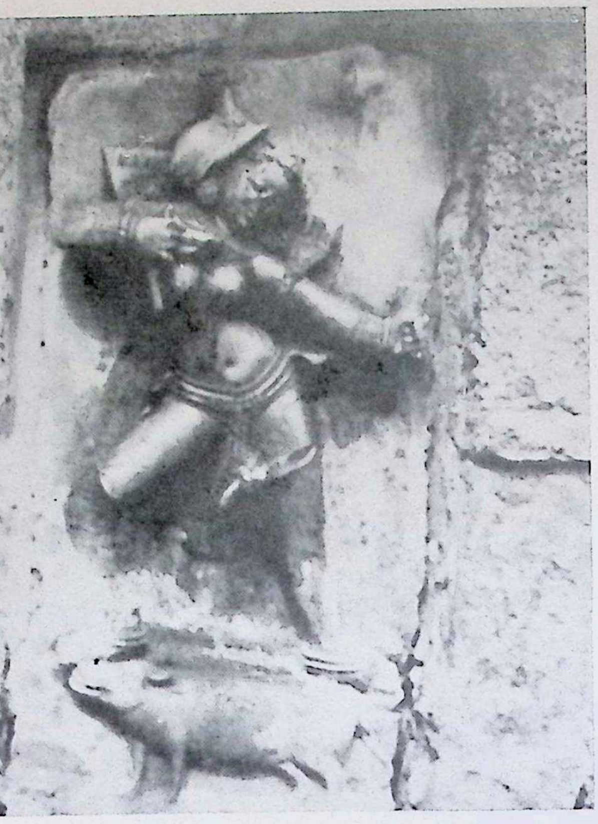

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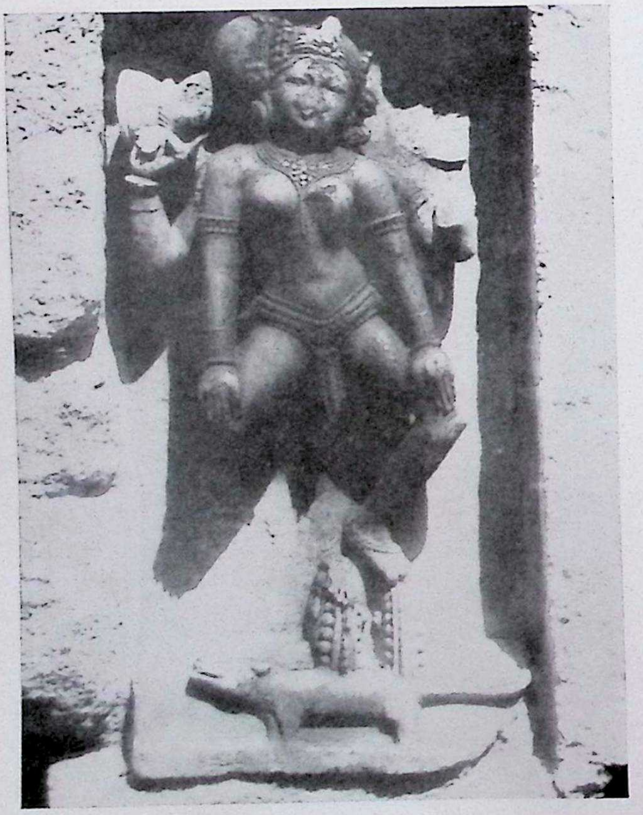

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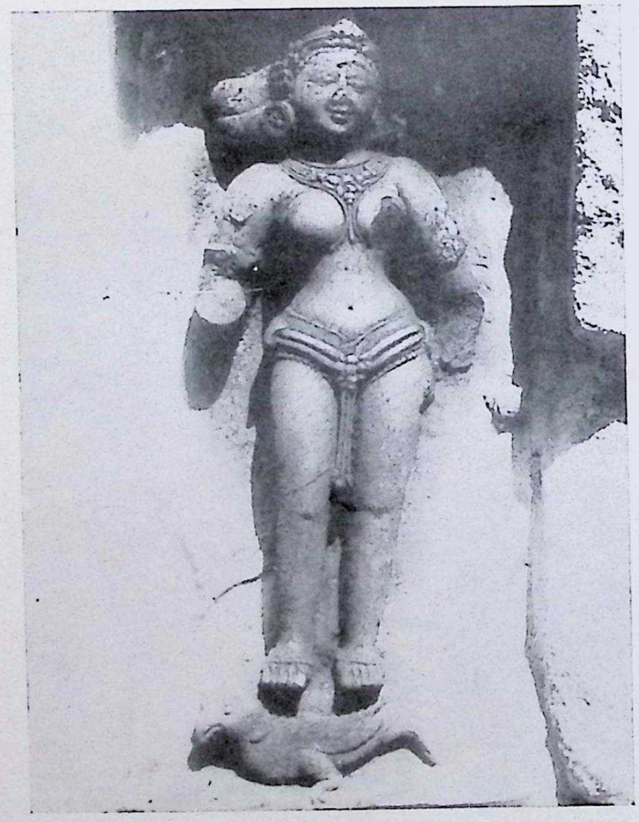

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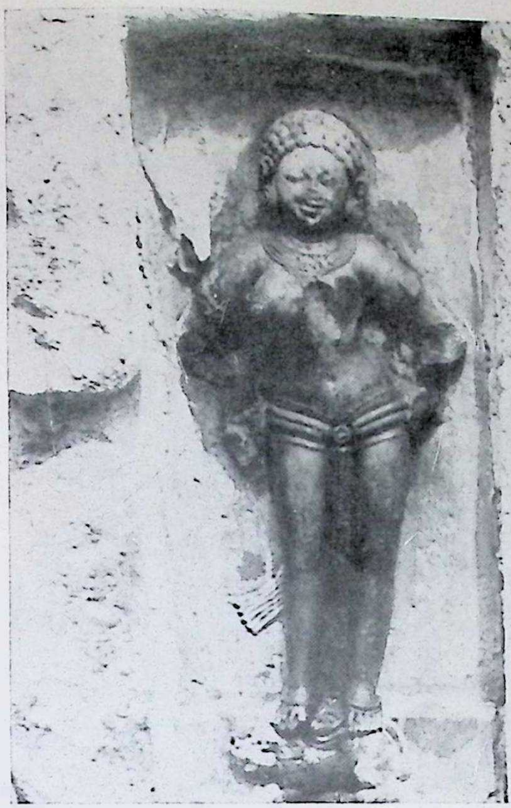

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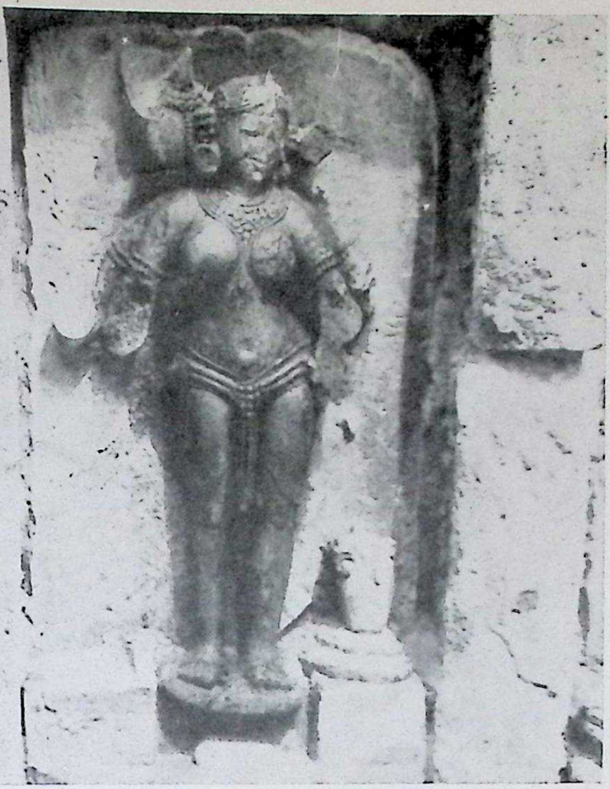

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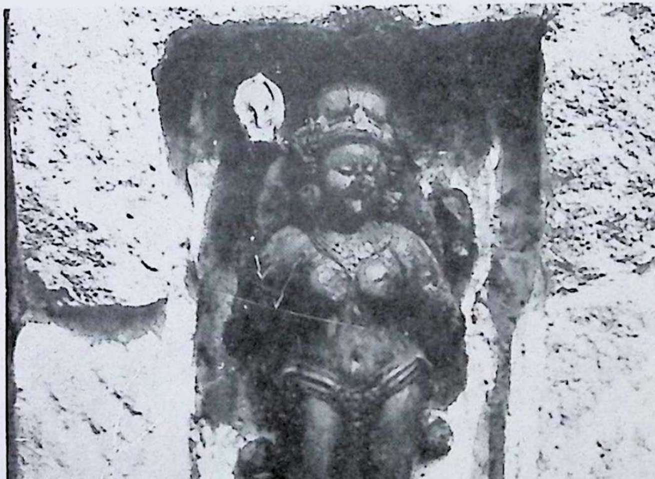
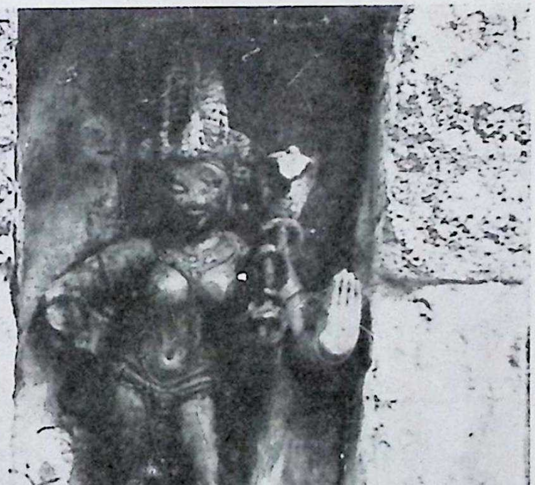


45 *Kāli* (*No. 46*)



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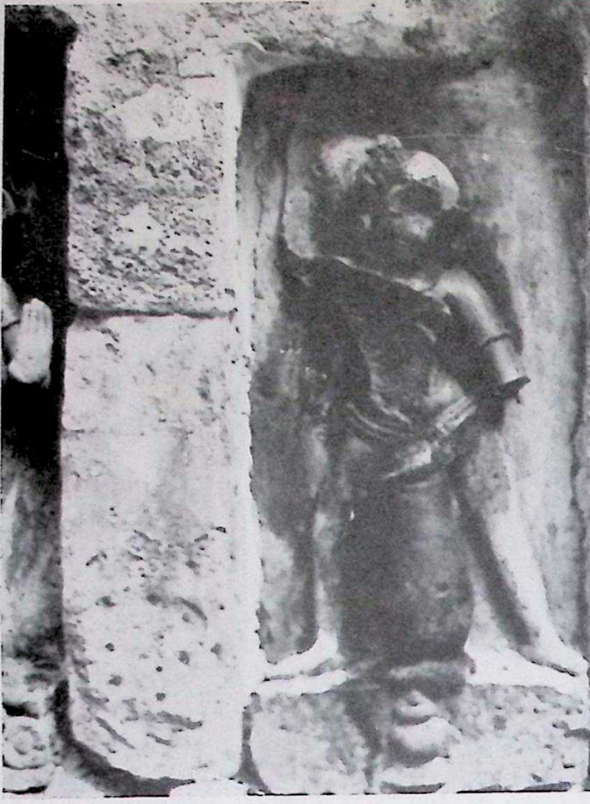

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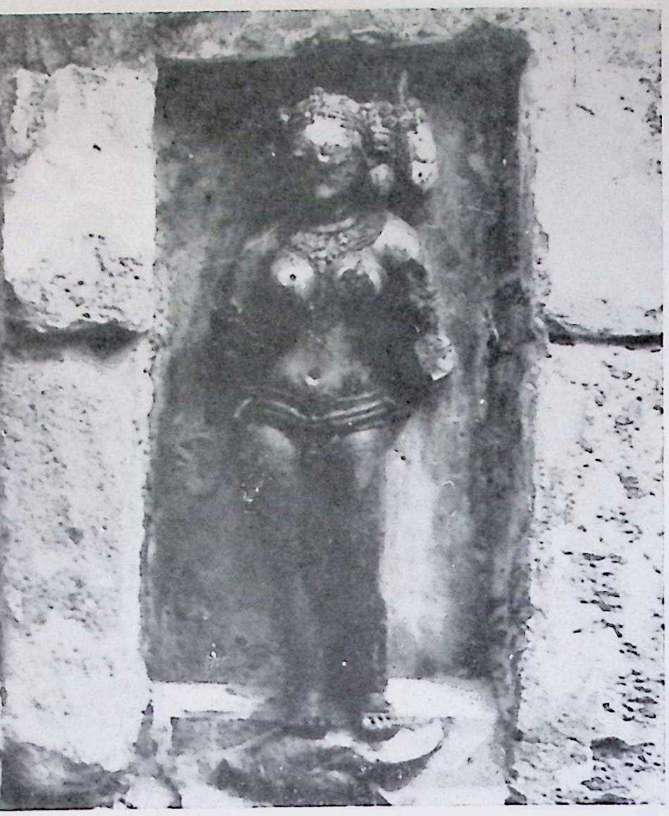

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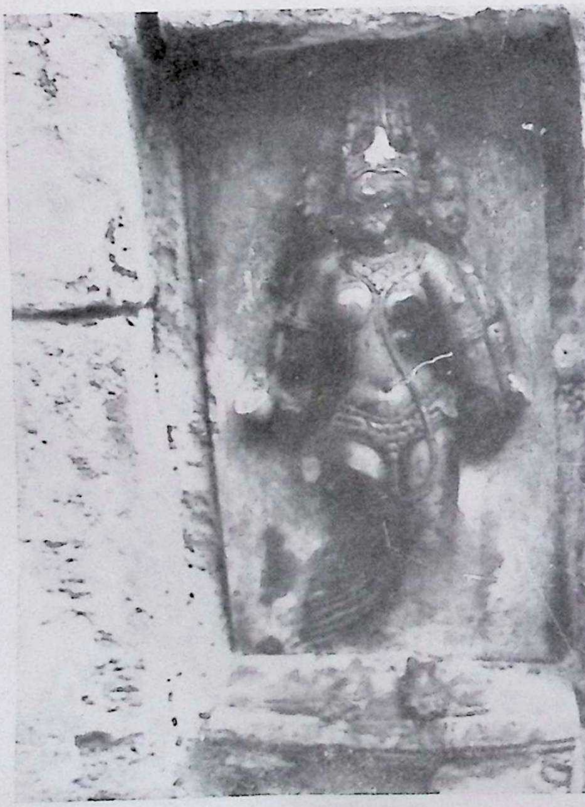

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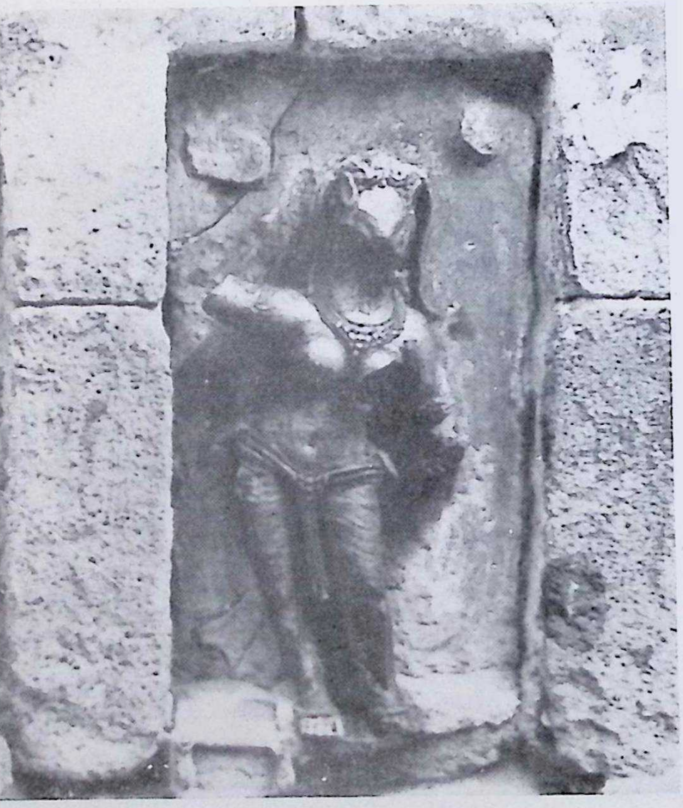

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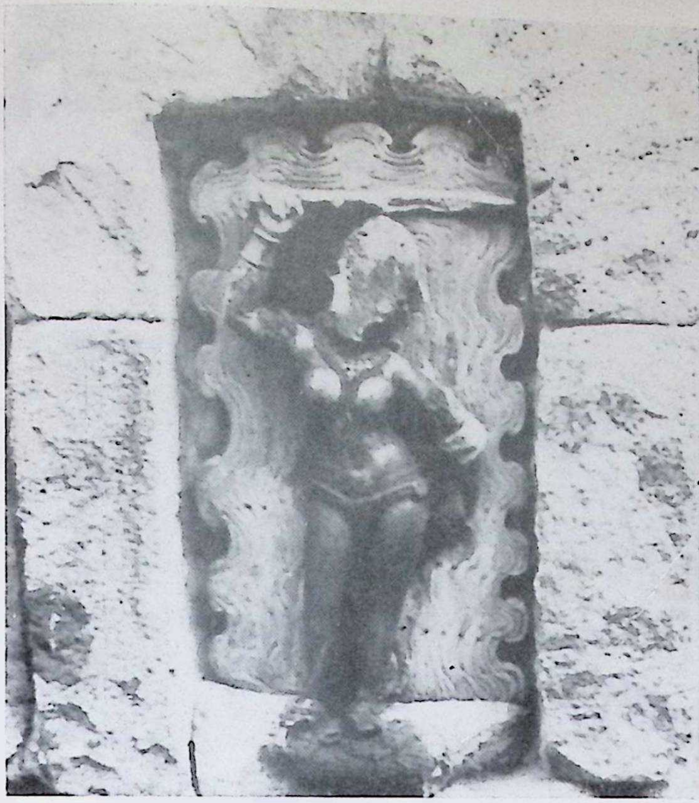
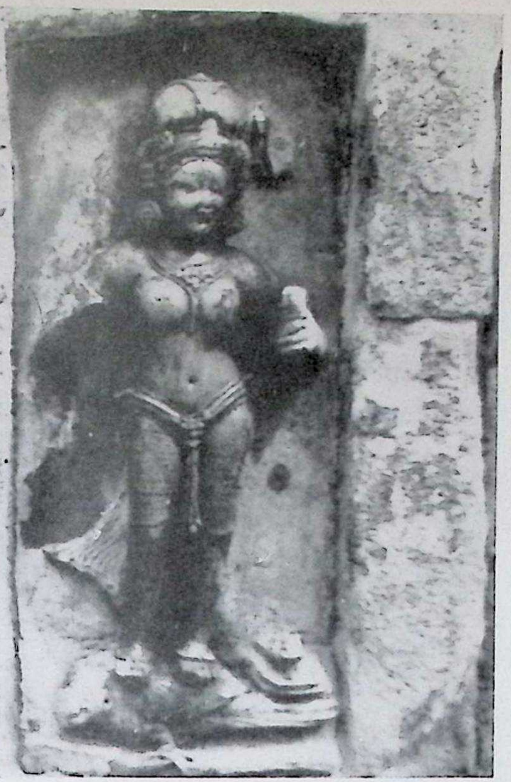


51 *Agneya (No. 52)*



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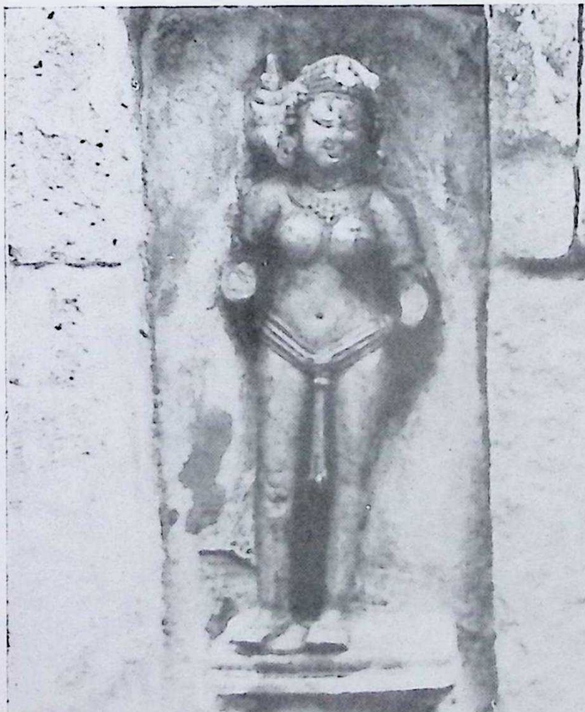

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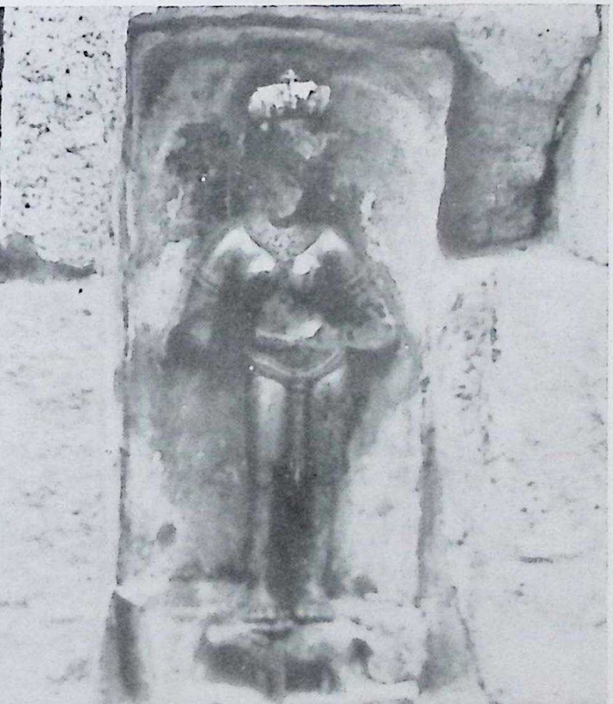
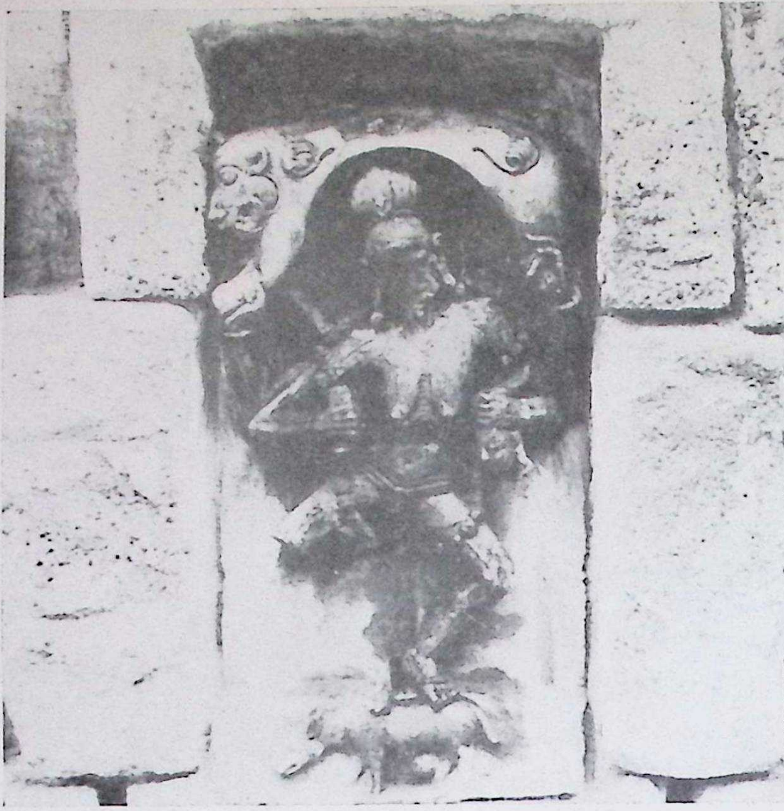
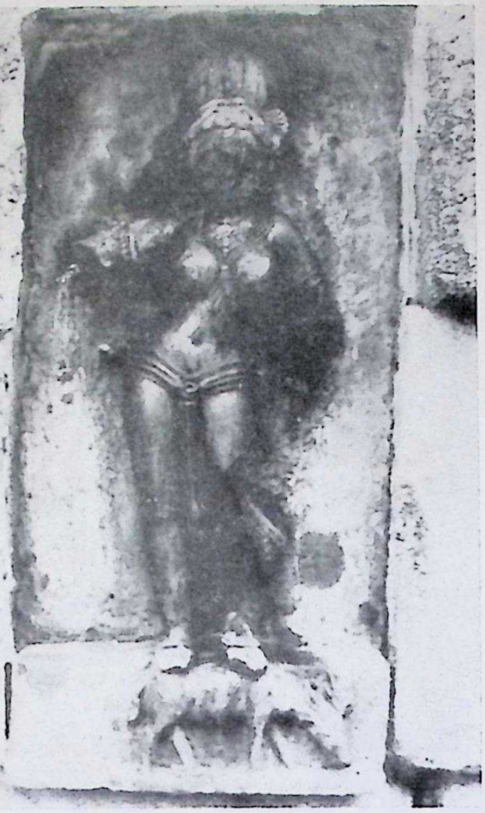


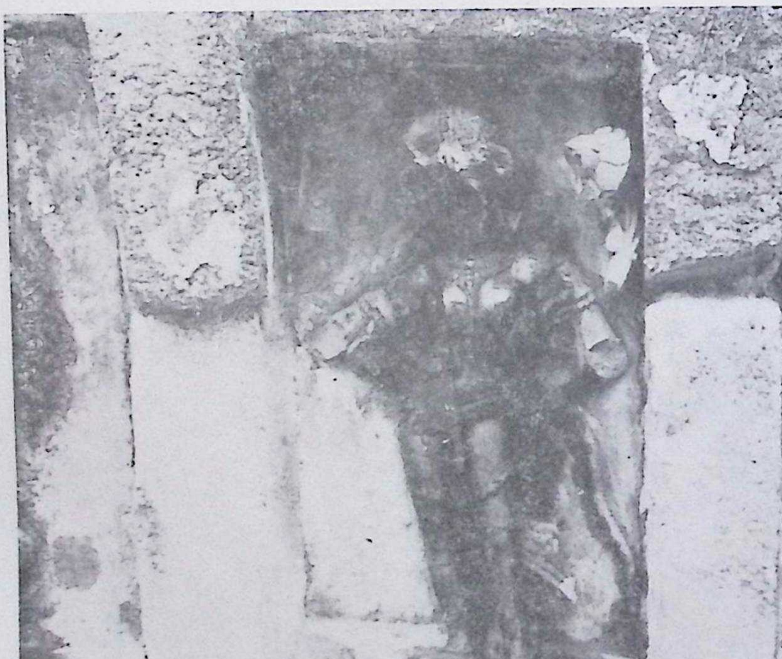
Yogini (No. 55) 54



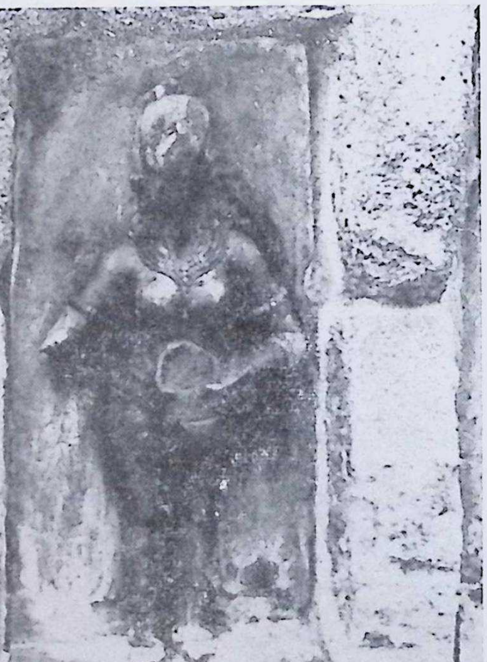
55 *Yogini* (*No. 56*) (*Resembling Chāmuṇḍā*)



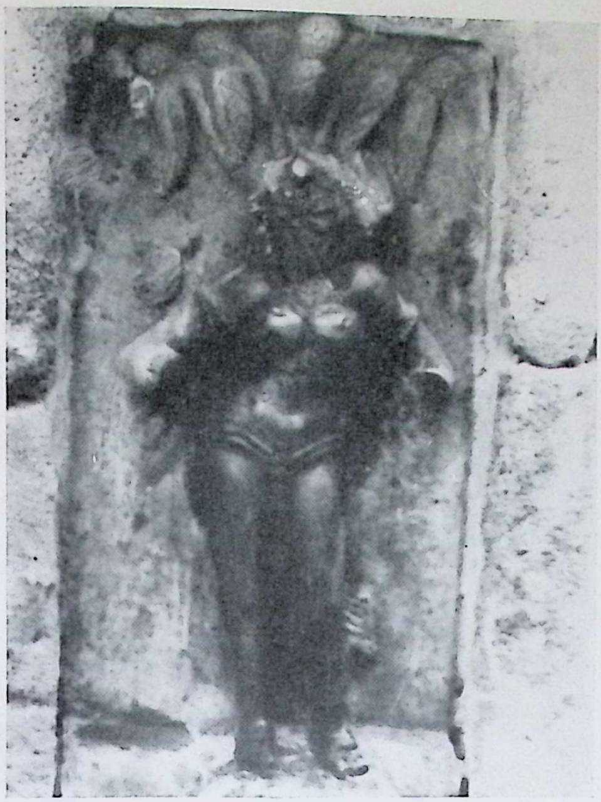
Māruti (*No. 57*) 56



57 *Gangā* (*No. 58*)



Taraini (*No. 59*) 58



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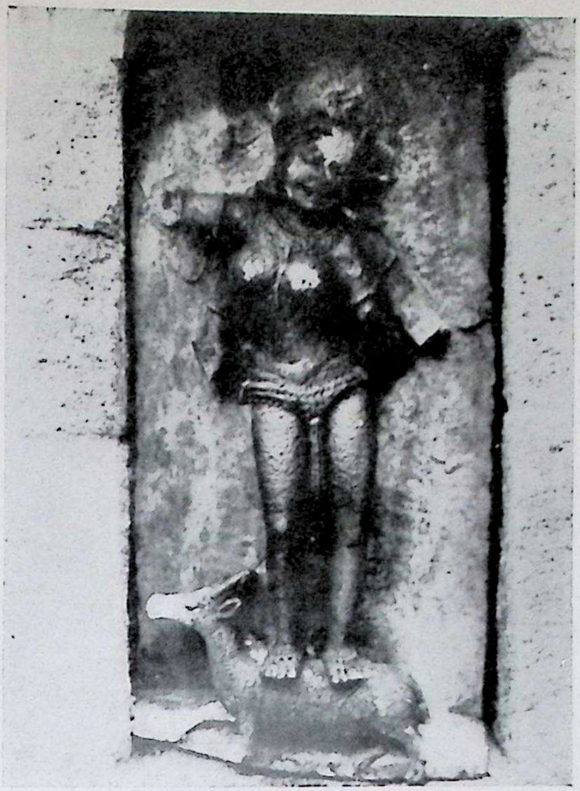
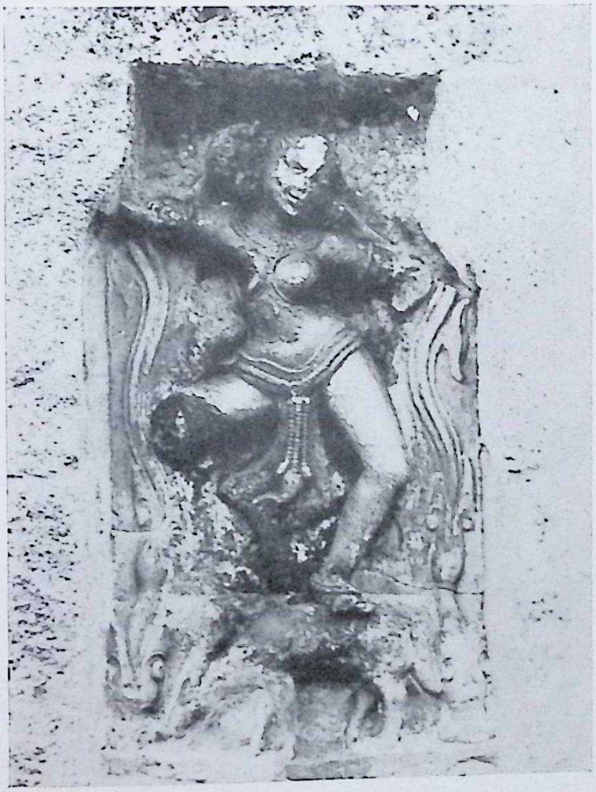
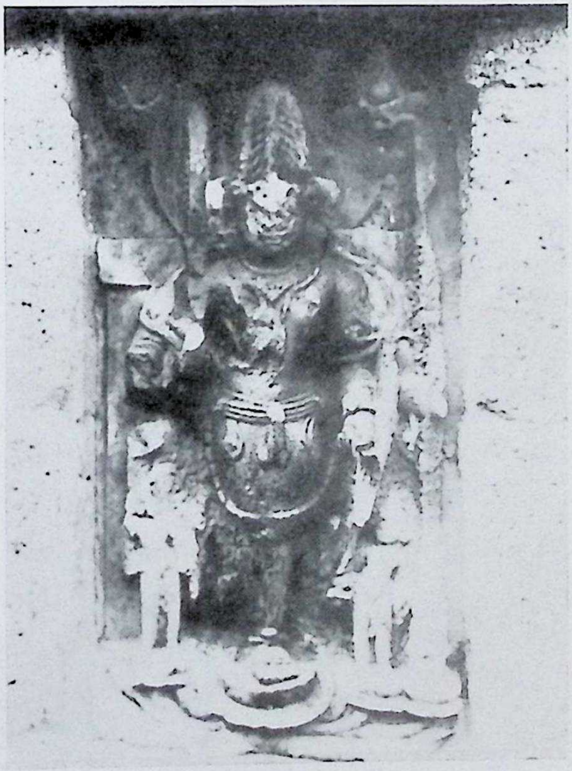


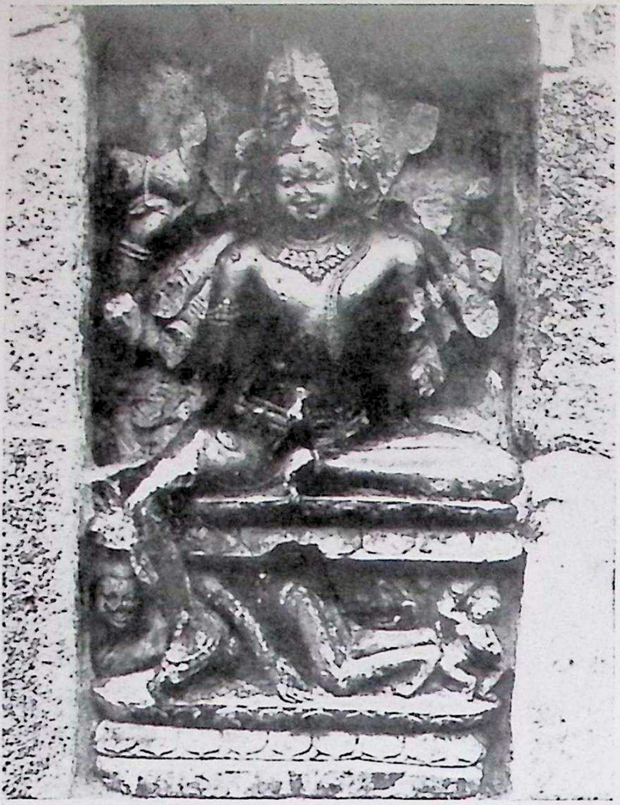
Yogini (No. 62) 60



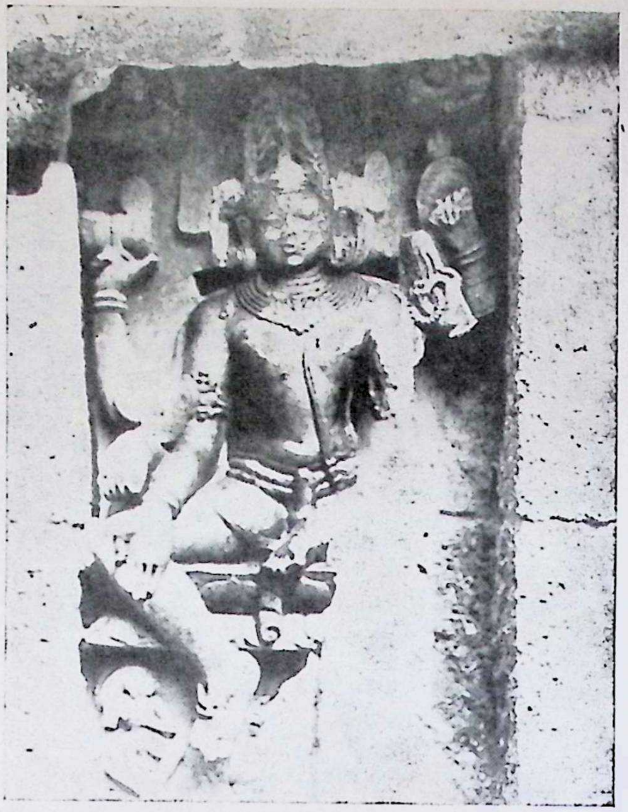
61 *Yogini (No. 64)*



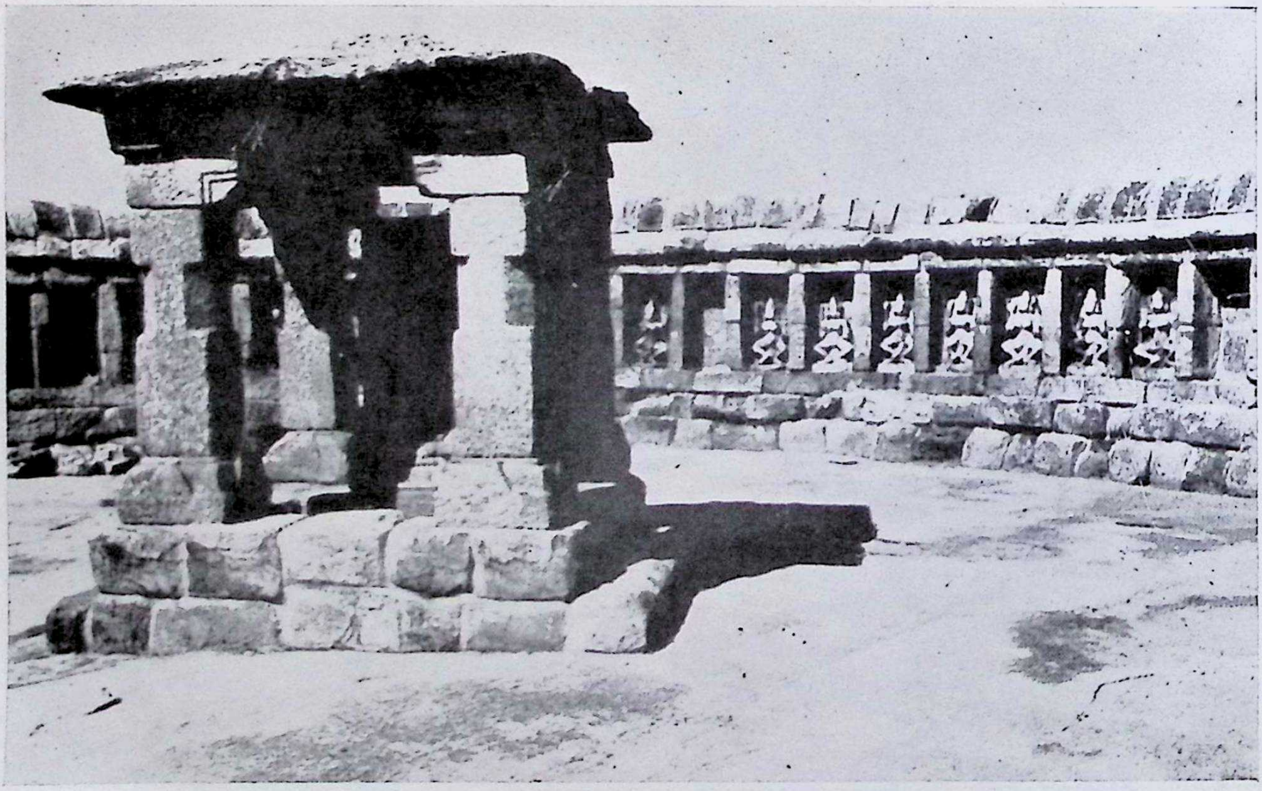
Ajaikapāda Bhairava 62



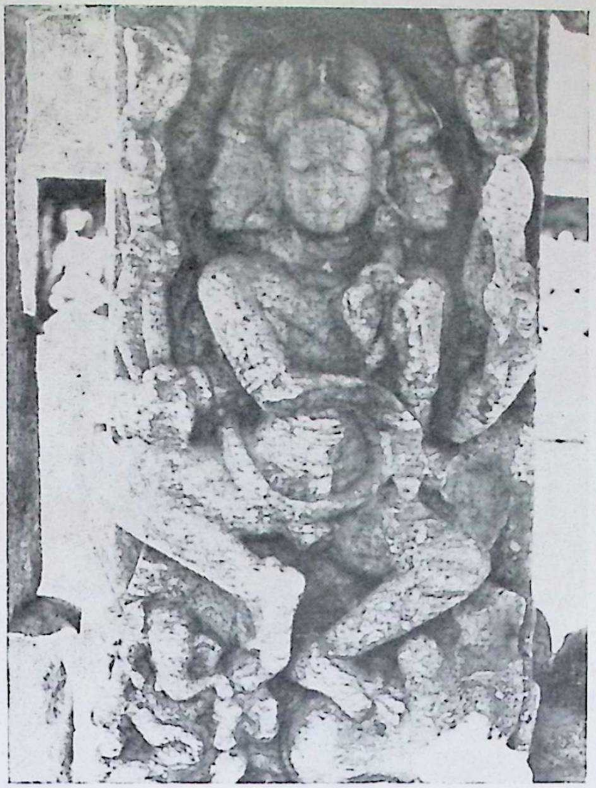
63 *Svachchanda Bhairava*



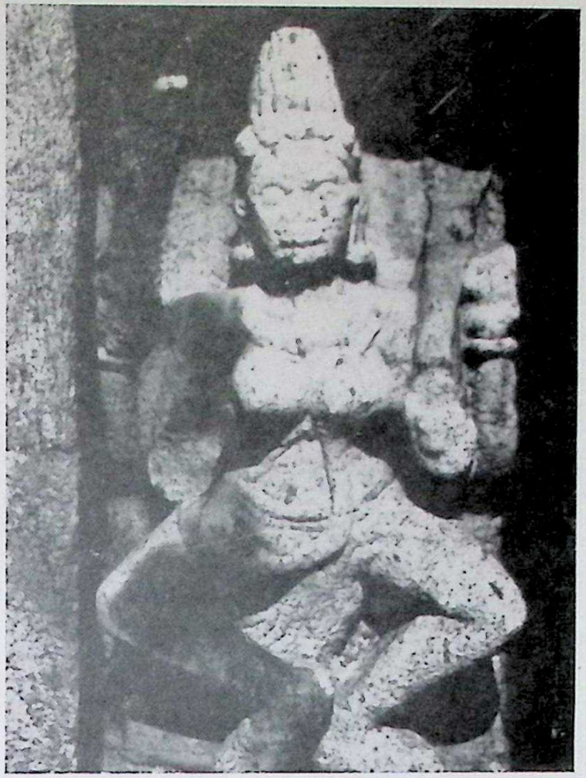
Chaṇḍa Bhairava 64



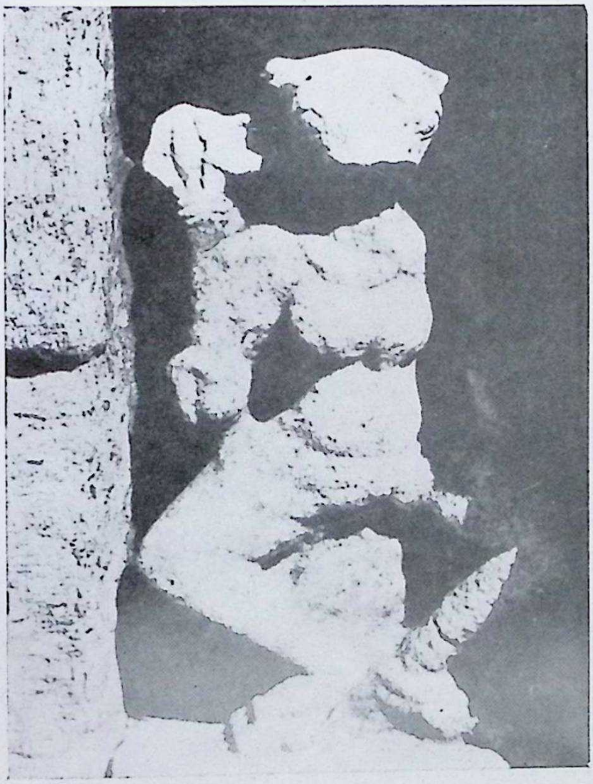
65 *Inner View; Sixty-four Yogini Temple (Ranipur-Jharial)*



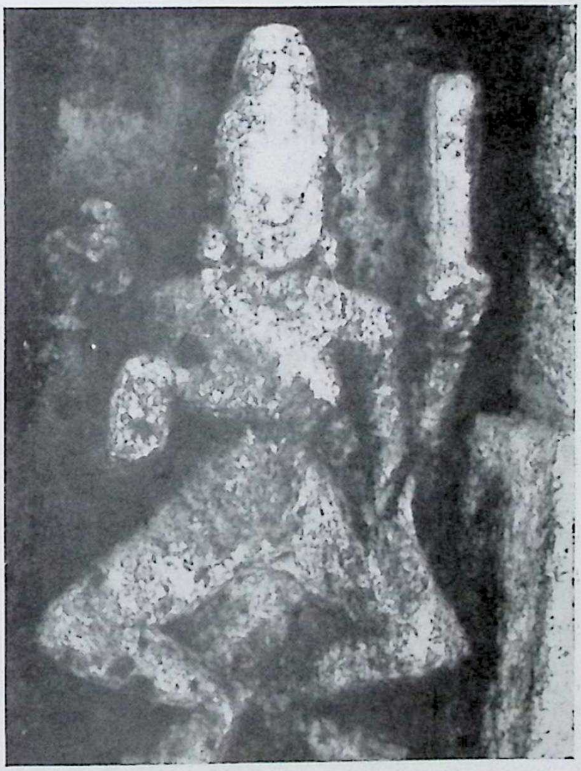
66 *Śivāni* (*No. 13a*)



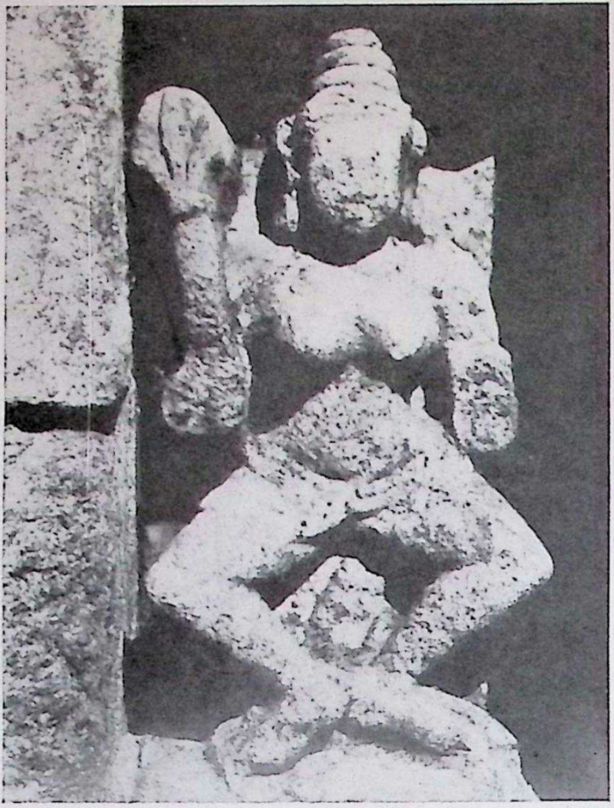
Narasimhi (*No. 14*) 67

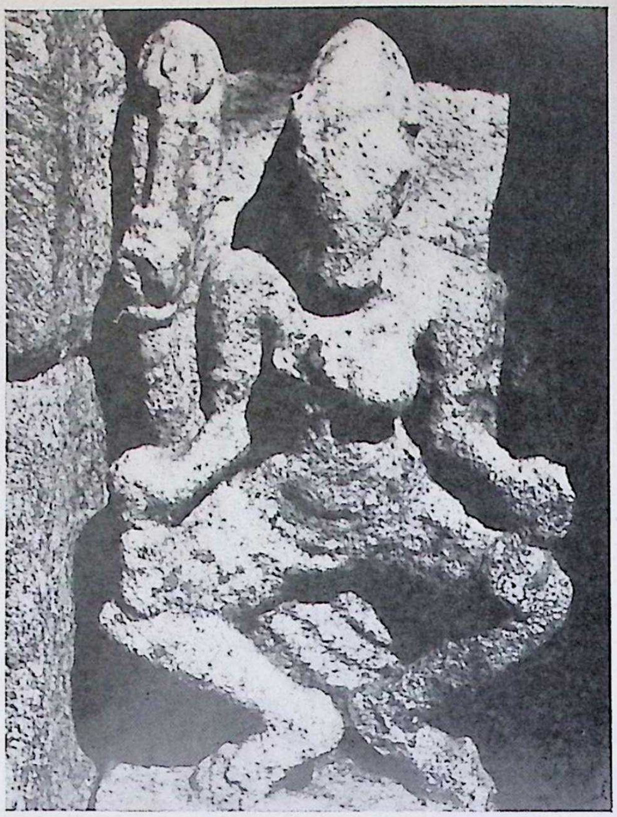


68 *Yogini* (*No. 19*)



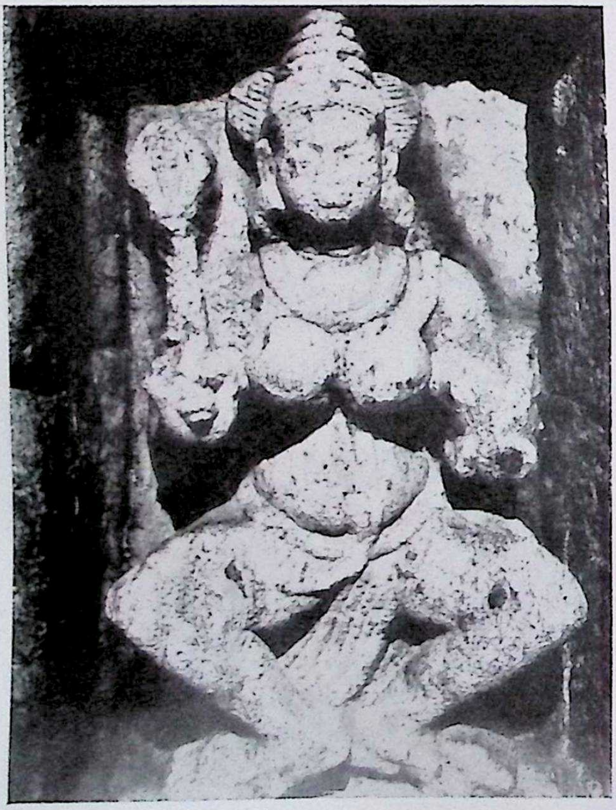
Yogini (*No. 27*) 69

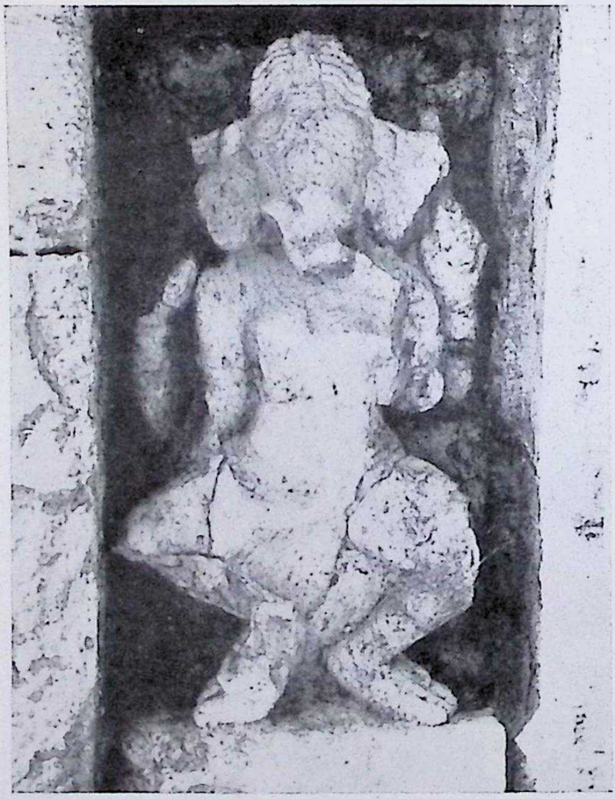




70 *Yogini* (*No. 29*)

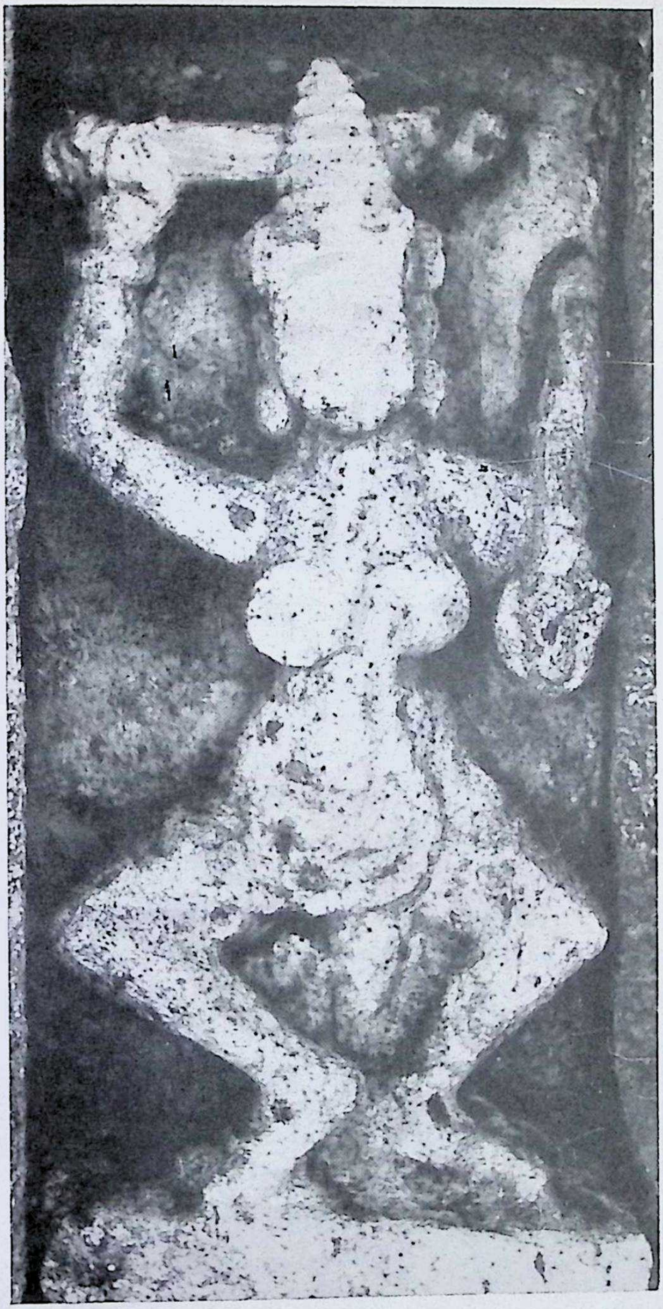
Yogini (*No. 30*) 71



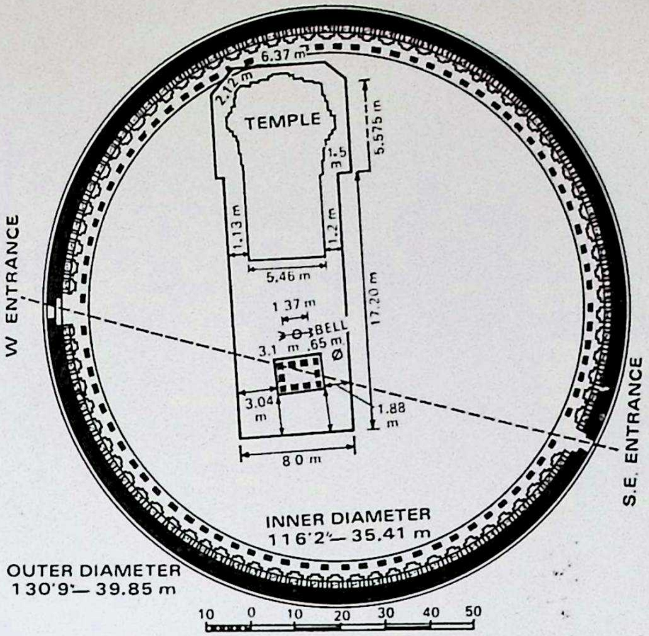


72 *Yogini* (*No. 31*)

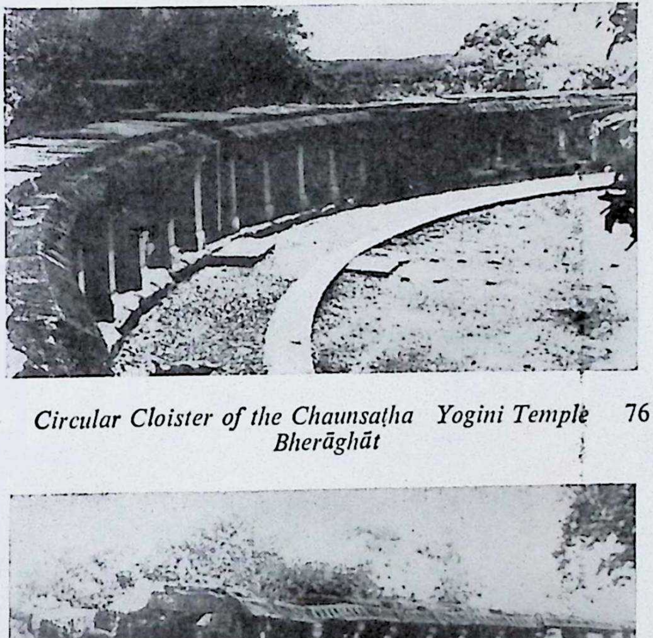
Mātangi (*No. 31 A*) 73



74 *Kātyāyani (No. 34)*

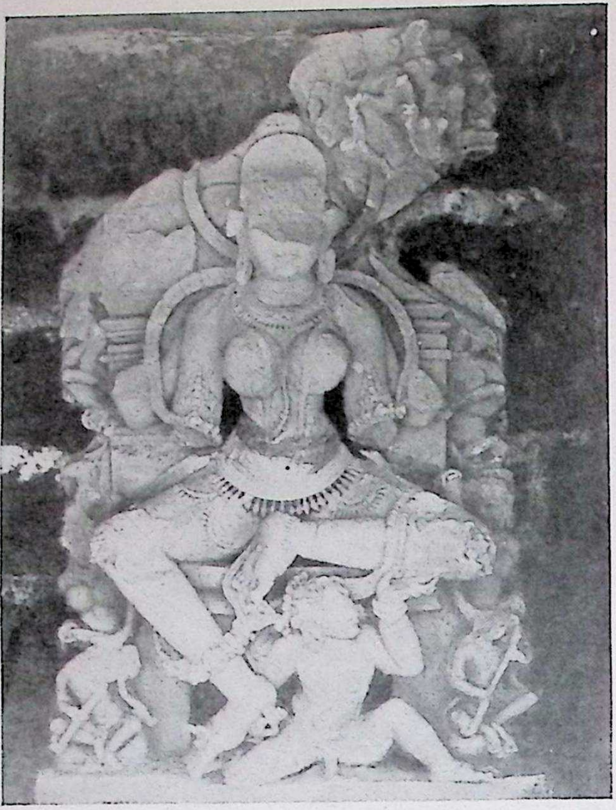

6.37 m
2.12 m
TEMPLE
1.5 m
5.575 m
1.13 m
1.2 m
5.46 m
17.20 m
1.37 m
BELL
3.1 m
.65 m
3.04 m
1.88 m
8 0 m
W ENTRANCE
S.E. ENTRANCE
INNER DIAMETER
116'2"—35.41 m
OUTER DIAMETER
130'9"—39.85 m
10 0 10 20 30 40 50

PLAN OF CIRCULAR TEMPLE AND
TEMPLE OF GAURI-ŚANKAR AT BHERĀGHĀT

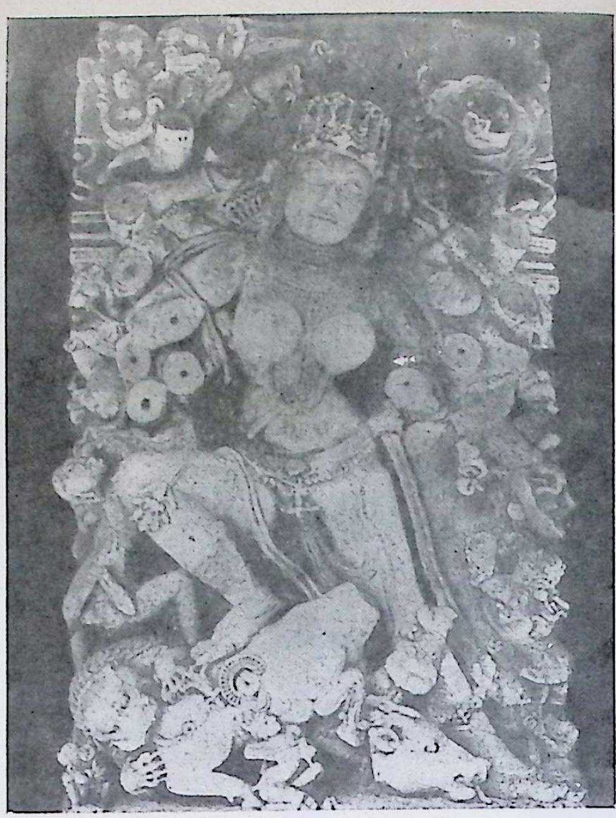


Circular Cloister of the Chaunsaṭha Yogini Temple Bherāghāt 76

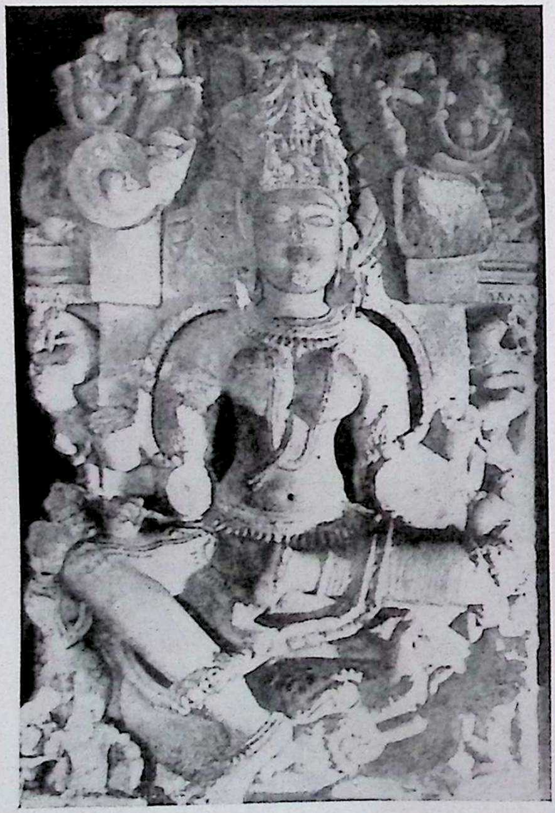
Inner View of Sixty-four Yogini Temple Bherāghāt before repair 77



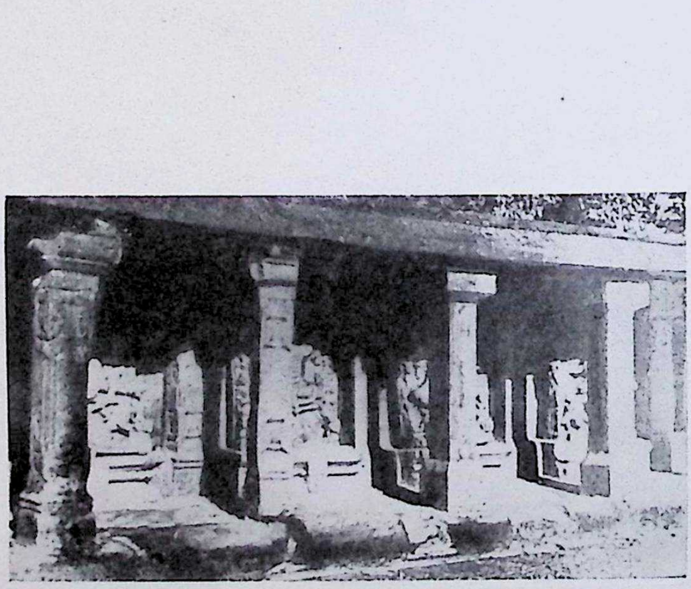
78 *Vaiṣṇavi*



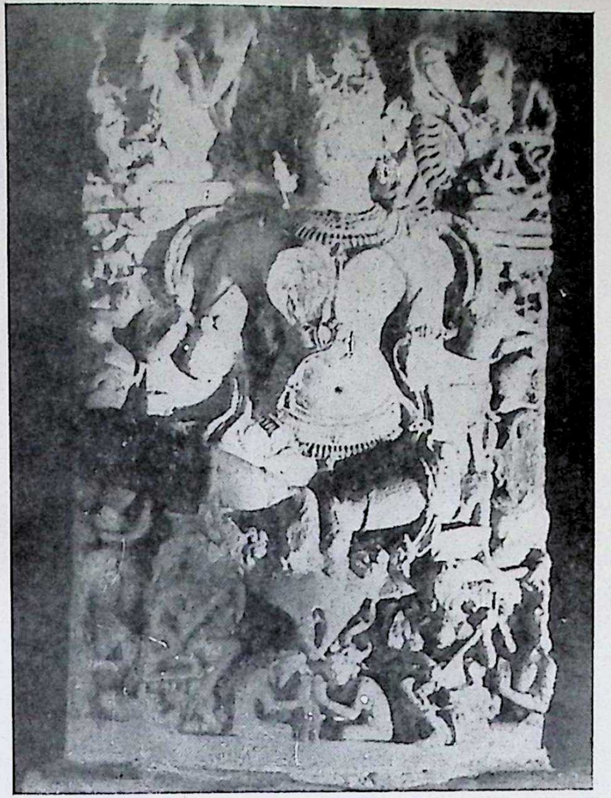
Teramva 79



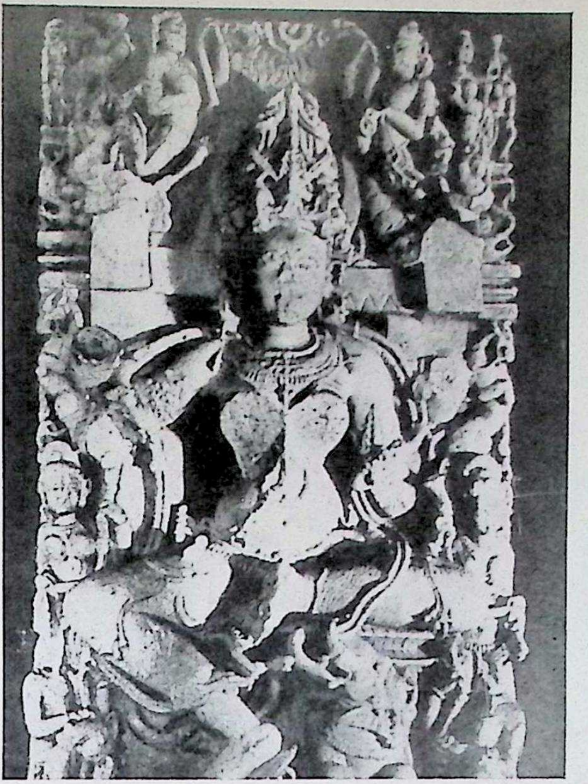
80 *Sri Rāsini*



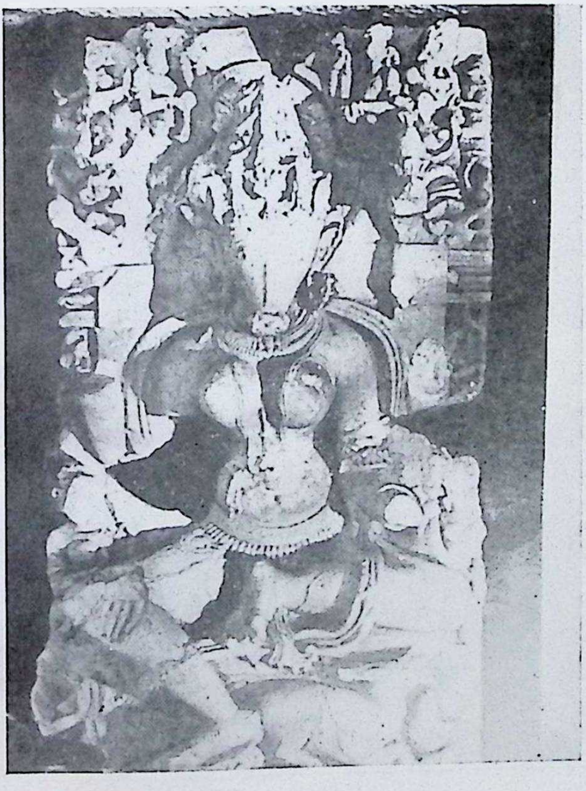
Outer view of Pillars and Chhajjā of Sixty-four Yogini Temple Bherāghāt 81



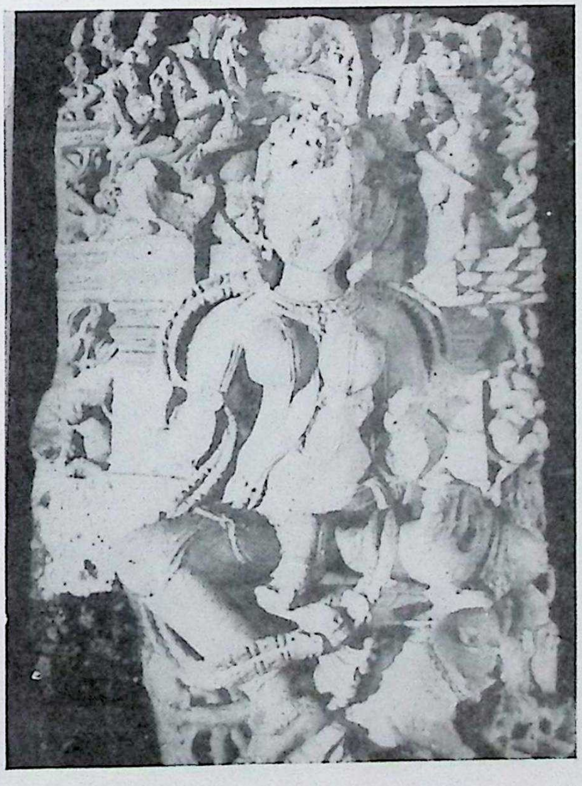
82 *Sri Kāmadā*



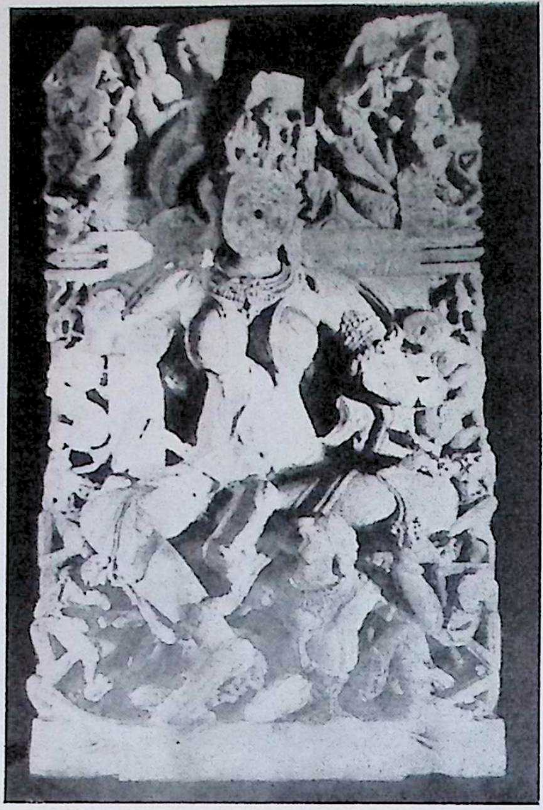
Sri Raṇājirā 83



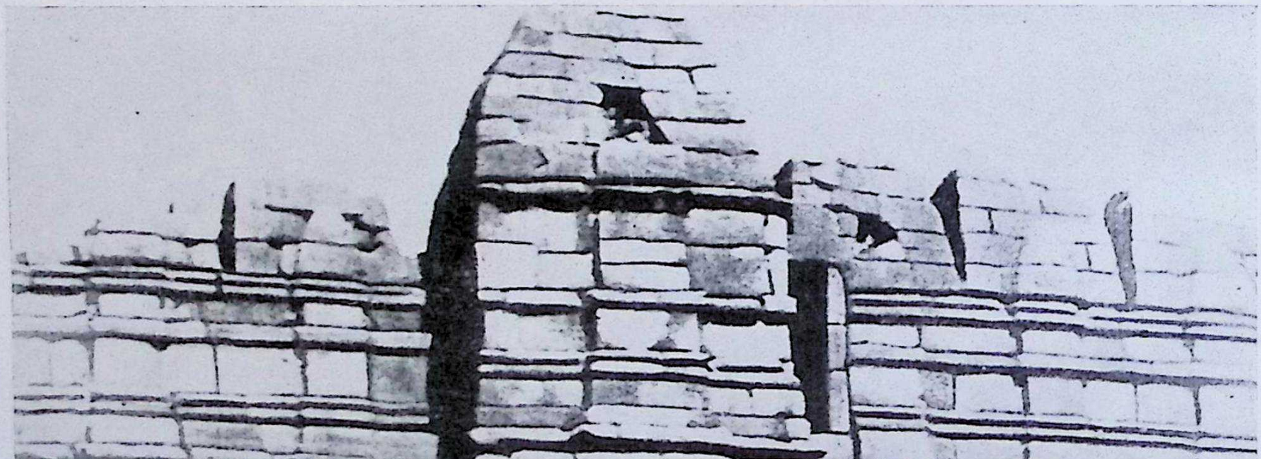
84 *Sri Erudi*



Sri Kṣātradharmiṇi 85



86 *Sri Simhāsimhā*



87 *Chaunsaṭha Yogini Temple Khajurāho (850-900 A.D.)*

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